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Both inclusive:

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 Patriots, | Divines, | Philosophers.

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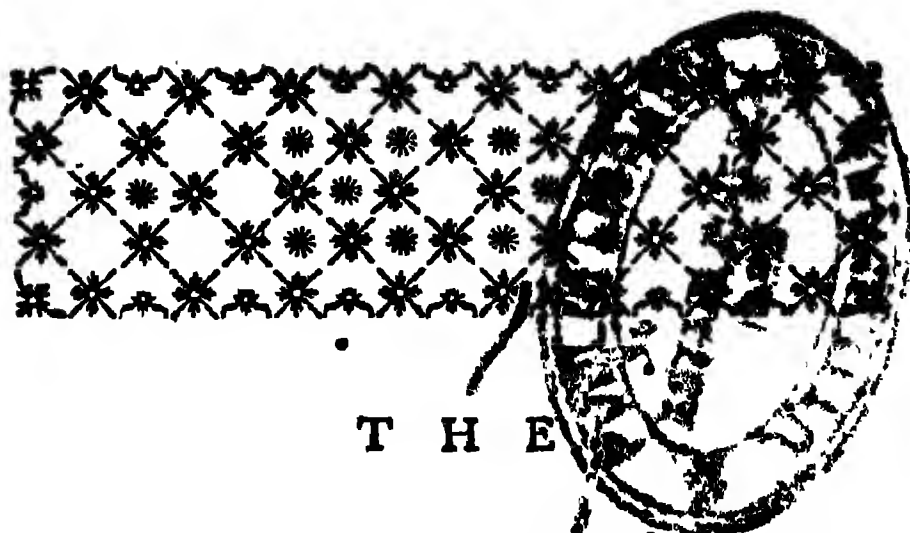
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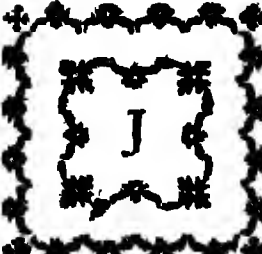
*John D. of Marlborough.*



T H E  
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF  
JOHN CHURCHILL.

 JOHN CHURCHILL, duke of Marlborough, and prince of the holy Roman empire, was eldest son of sir Winston Churchill, and born at Ashe, in Devonshire, on Midsummer-day, in the year 1650.

A clergyman in the neighbourhood instructed him in the first principles of literature; but his father having other views than what a learned education afforded, carried him very early to court, where he was particularly fa-

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voured by James duke of York, when he was no more than twelve years of age.

He had a pair of colours given him in the guards during the first Dutch war, about the year 1666; and afterwards obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands, and besieged by the Moors; where he resided for some time, and cultivated attentively the science of arms. Upon his return to England, he attended constantly at court, and was greatly respected by both the king and the duke.

In the year 1672, the duke of Monmouth commanding a body of English auxiliaries in the service of France, Mr. Churchill attended him, and was soon after made a captain of grenadiers in his grace's own regiment. He had a share in all the actions of that famous campaign against the Dutch; and at the siege of Nimeguen distinguished himself so much, that he was particularly taken notice of by the celebrated marshal Turenne, who bestowed on him the name of the Handsome Englishman.

He shone out also with so much eclat at the reduction of Maastricht, that the French king thanked him for his behaviour at the head of the line; and assured him, that he would acquaint his sovereign with it; which he did: and the duke of Monmouth, on his return to England, told the king his father, how much he had been indebted to the bravery of captain Churchill.

The laurels he brought from France were sure to gain him preferment at home: according  
ingl

ingly the king made him a lieutenant-colonel, and the duke made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and soon after master of the robes. The second Dutch war being over, colonel Churchill was again obliged to pass his days at court, where he behaved with great prudence and circumspection in the troublesome times that ensued.

In the beginning of the year 1679, when the duke of York was constrained to retire from England to the Low-countries, colonel Churchill attended him, as he did throughout all his peregrinations, till he was suffered to reside again in London. While he waited upon the duke in Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons given him; and thinking it now time to take a consort, he made his addresses to Mrs. Sarah Jennings, who waited on the lady Anne, afterwards queen of Great-Britain. This young lady, then about twenty-one years of age, and universally admired both for person and wit, he married in the year 1681, and thereby strengthened the interest he already had at court.

In the spring of the year 1682, the duke of York returned to London; and having obtained leave to quit Scotland, resolved to fetch his family from thence by sea. For this purpose, he embarked on the second of May, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon Oar, a dangerous sand that lies about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber; where his ship was split, with some men of quality, and upwards

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of one hundred and twenty persons on board her. He was particularly careful of colonel Churchill's safety, and took him into the boat in which himself escaped.

The first step made by his royal highness of his interest, after his return to court, was to obtain a title for his favourite ; who, by letters-patent, bearing date on the first of December, 1682, was created baron of Eymouth, in Scotland, and also appointed colonel of the third troop of guards.

He was continued in all his posts upon the coming of king James II. to the crown, who sent him also his ambassador to France to notify his accession. On his return, he assisted at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April, 1685 ; and in May following was created a peer of England, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford.

In June, lord Churchill being then lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, was ordered into the west to suppress the duke of Monmouth's rebellion ; which he did in a month's time, with an inconsiderable body of horse, and took the duke himself prisoner. He was extremely well received by the king at his return from this victory, but soon discerned, as it is said, the bad effects it produced, by confirming the king in an opinion, that, by virtue of a standing-army, the religion and government of England might easily be changed. How far lord Churchill concurred with, or opposed, the king, while he

was



## JOHN CHURCHILL. 5

was forming this project, is hardly known. He does not appear to have been guilty of any mean compliances, or to have had any concern in advising or executing the violent proceedings of that unhappy reign; on the contrary, bishop Burnet tells us, that “ he very prudently declined meddling much in business, spoke little except when his advice was asked, and then always recommended moderate measures.” It is said; he declared very early to the lord Galway, that, if his master attempted to overturn the established religion, he would leave him; and, that he signed the memorial transmitted to the prince and princess of Orange, by which they were invited to rescue this nation from popery and slavery. Be this as it will, it is certain that he remained with, and was entrusted by, the king, after the prince of Orange was landed on the fifth of November, 1688.

He attended king James, when he marched with his forces to oppose the prince, and had the command of five thousand men; yet the earl of Feversham, suspecting his inclinations, advised the king to seize him. The king's affection to him was so great, that he could not be prevailed upon to do it; and this left him at liberty to go over to the prince; which he accordingly did, but without betraying any post, or taking off any troops.

Whoever considers the great obligations lord Churchill lay under to king James, must naturally conclude, that he could not take the re-

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solution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the case, appears very plainly from the following letter, which he left for the king, to shew the reasons of his conduct, and to express his grief for the step he was obliged to take.

“ S I R,

“ SINCE men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my ~~dis~~ual behaviour to your majesty, in the worst of times, for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid, may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I am actuated by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty, at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects; much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations imaginable to your majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing, but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in competition.

“ Heaven

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“ Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty’s true interest and the protestant religion ; but, as I can no longer join with such, to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune, so much your majesty’s due, endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful right, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes

“ Your Majesty’s &c.”

Lord Churchill was graciously received by the prince of Orange ; and it is supposed to have been in consequence of his lordship’s solicitation, that prince George of Denmark took the same step, as his consort the princess Anne did soon after, by the advice of lady Churchill. He was intrusted, in that critical conjuncture, by the prince of Orange, first to re-assemble his troop of guards at London, and afterwards to reduce some lately raised regiments, and to new-model the army ; for which purpose he was invested with the rank and title of lieutenant general.

The prince and princess of Orange being declared king and queen of England upon the sixth of February, 1689, lord Churchill was, on the fourteenth, sworn of their privy-council, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-

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chamber to the king; and, on the ninth of April following, was raised to the dignity of earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.

He assisted at the coronation of their majesties, and was soon after made commander-in-chief of the English forces sent over to Holland. He presided at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought upon the fifteenth of April, 1689, and gave such extraordinary proofs of his skill, that prince Waldeck, speaking in his commendation to king William, declared, That he saw more into the art of war in a day than some generals in many years.

It is to be observed, that king William commanded this year in Ireland; which was the reason of the earl of Marlborough's being at the head of the English troops in Holland; where he laid the foundation of that fame among foreigners, which he afterwards extended all over Europe.

He next did great services for king William in Ireland, by reducing Cork, and some other places of much importance; in all which he shewed such uncommon abilities, that, on his first appearance at court after his return, the king was pleased to say, That he knew no man so fit for a general, who had seen so few campaigns."

All these services, notwithstanding, did not hinder his being disgraced in a very sudden manner; for, being in waiting at court as lord of the bed chamber, and having introduced to his majesty lord George Hamilton,

he was soon followed to his own house by that same lord, with this short and surprising message, That the king had no farther occasion for his services: the more surpris<sup>ing</sup> as his majesty, just before, had not discover'd the least coldness or displeasure towards him. The cause of this disgrace is not even at present known; but only expected to have proceeded from his too close attachment to the interest of the princess Anne.

This strange and unexpected blow was followed by one much stranger, for soon after he was committed to the Tower for high-treason; but was released, and acquitted, upon the whole being discovered to be nothing more than the effects of a vile conspiracy against him.

After queen Mary's death, when the interests of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, king William thought fit to recall the earl of Marlborough to his privy-council; and, upon the nineteenth of June, 1698, appointed him governor to the duke of Gloucester, with this extraordinary compliment, "Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him."

His lordship continued in favour to the time of the king's death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the lords justices during his absence; namely, on the sixteenth of July, 1698; on the thirtieth of May, 1699; and on the twenty-seventh of June, 1704.

As soon as it was discerned, that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occasion of another general war, the king sent a body of troops over to Holland, and made lord Marlborough commander in chief of them. He appointed him also ambassador extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to their high-mightinesses; upon which he went immediately over to Holland. The king following, and taking a view of the forces, dined with the earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the thirtieth of October, 1700; and this was one of the last marks of honour and favour he received from king William, who died on the eighth of March following, unless the recommendation of his lordship to the princess of Denmark, a little before his death, as the properest person to be trusted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberty of Europe.

About a week after the king's death, he was elected knight of the most noble order of the garter; and soon after declared captain-general of all her majesty's forces in England and abroad: upon which he was immediately sent over to the Hague with the same character that he had the year before. His stay in Holland was very short, only just long enough to give the states-general the necessary assurances of his mistress's sincere intention to pursue the plan that had formerly been settled. The states concurred with him in all that he proposed, and made him captain-general of all their  
forces

forces, appointing him one hundred thousand florins per annum.

On his return to England, he found the queen's council already divided; some being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only; others for declaring against France and Spain immediately, and so becoming principals at once. The earl of Marlborough joined with the latter; and these carrying their point, war was declared upon the fourth of May, 1702, and approved afterwards by parliament, tho' the Dutch, at that time, had not declared.

The earl took the command on the twentieth of June; and, discerning that the states were made uneasy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, he began with attacking and reducing them. Accordingly, in this single campaign, he made himself master of the castles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts; the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenwaert; together with the city and citadel of Liege; which last was taken sword in hand.

These advantages were considerable, and acknowledged as such by the states, but they had like to have been of a very short date; for the army separating in the neighbourhood of Liege, on the third of November, the earl was taken the next day, in his passage by water, by a small party of thirty men from the garrison at Gueldres; but it being towards night, and the earl insisting upon an old pass given to his brother, and now out of date, was suffered to proceed, and arrived at the

Hague, when they were in the utmost consternation at the accident which had befallen him.

The winter approaching, the earl embarked for England, and arrived in London on the twenty-eighth of November. The queen had been complimented some time before by both houses of parliament, on the success of her arms in Flanders; in consequence of which, there had been a public thanksgiving on the fourth of November, when her majesty went in great state to St. Paul's.

Soon after, a committee of the house of commons waited upon the earl with the thanks of the house; and, on the second of December, her majesty declared her intention in council, of creating his lordship a duke; which she soon after did, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough. She likewise added a pension of five thousand pounds per annum out of the post-office during her own life; and sent a message to the house of commons, signifying her desire, that it might attend the honour she had lately conferred: but with this the house would not comply; contenting themselves, in their address to the queen, with applauding her manner of rewarding public service, but declaring their inability to make such a precedent for alienating the revenue of the crown.

He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on the eighth of February, 1702-3, his only son, the marquis of Blandford,



## JOHN CHURCHILL. 13

ford, died at Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not, however, long retard his grace; but he passed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the sixth of March.

The nature of our work will not suffer us to relate all the military acts in which the duke of Marlborough was engaged; it is sufficient to say, that, numerous as they were, they were all successful. The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-countries, and in that part of Germany which the elector of Cologne had put into their hands; and prodigious preparations were made under the most experienced commanders: but the vigilance and activity of the duke baffled them all.

When the campaign was over, his grace went to Dusseldorp, to meet the emperor, then stiled Charles III. king of Spain, who made him a present of a rich sword from his side, with very high compliments; and then returning to the Hague, after a very short stay, came over to England.

He arrived on the thirteenth of October, 1703; and soon after, king Charles III. whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewise over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Christmas-day; upon which the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough were immediately sent down to receive and conduct him to Windsor.

In the beginning of January, the states-general desired leave of her majesty for his grace  
of

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of Marlborough to come to the Hague ; which being granted, his grace embarked on the fifteenth, and passed over to Rotterdam. He went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the pensionary his sense of the necessity there was of attempting something the next campaign for the relief of the emperor, whose affairs at this time were in the utmost distress, having the Bavarians on one side, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incursions to the very gates of Vienna, while his whole force scarce enabled him to maintain a defensive war. This scheme being approved of, and the plan of it being adjusted, the duke returned to England on the fourteenth of February.

When the measures were properly settled at home, the duke, on the eighth of April, 1704, embarked for Holland ; where staying about a month to adjust the necessary steps, he began his march towards the heart of Germany ; and, after a conference held with the prince Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, he arrived before the strong entrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburg, very unexpectedly, on the twenty-first of June ; whom, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, he entirely routed. It was on this occasion, that the emperor wrote the duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his great services, and offering him a title of a prince of the empire ; which

the

## JOHN CHURCHILL. 15

he modestly declined, till the queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it.

He prosecuted this success, and the battle of Hochstedt was fought by him and prince Eugene on the second of August; when the French and Bavarians were the greatest part of them killed and taken, and their commander, marshal Tallard, made a prisoner.

After this glorious action, by which the empire was saved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the duke continued his pursuit, till he forced the French to repass the Rhine. Then prince Lewis of Baden laid siege to Landau, while the duke and prince Eugene covered it; but it was not taken before the twelfth of November. He made a tour also to Berlin; and, by a short negotiation, suspended the disputes between the king of Prussia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties.

When the campaign was over, he returned to Holland, and, on the fourteenth of December, arrived in England. He brought over with him marshal Tallard, and twenty-six other officers of distinction; one hundred and twenty one standards, and one hundred and seventy-nine colours; which, by her majesty's order, were put up in Westminster-hall.

He was received by the queen and her royal consort, with the highest marks of esteem, and had the solemn thanks of both houses of parliament. Besides this, the commons addressed her majesty to perpetuate the memory of this victory;

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victory ; which she did, by granting Woodstock, with the hundred of Wotton, to him and his heirs for ever. This was confirmed by an act of parliament, which passed on the fourteenth of March following, with this remarkable clause, that they should be held, by tendering to the queen, her heirs, and successors, on the second of August, every year, for ever, at the castle of Windsor, a standard with three fleurs de lys painted thereon.

On the sixth of January, the duke was feasted by the city ; and, on the eighth of February, the commons addressed the queen, to testify their thanks for the wise treaty, which the duke had concluded with the court of Berlin, by which a large body of Prussian troops were sent to the assistance of the duke of Savoy.

The next year, 1705, he went over to Holland in March, with a design to execute some great schemes, which he had been projecting in the winter. The campaign was attended with some successes, which would have made a considerable figure in a campaign under any other general, but are scarcely worth mentioning where the duke of Marlborough commanded. He could not carry into execution his main project, on account of the impediments he met with from the allies, and in this respect was greatly disappointed.

The season for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the first of these, he acquired  
the

the entire confidence of the new emperor Joseph, who presented him with the principality of Mindelheim : at the second, he renewed the contract for the Prussian forces : and, at the third, he restored a perfect harmony, and adjusted every thing to the elector's satisfaction. After this, he returned to the Hague, and, towards the close of the year, embarked for, and arrived safe in, England.

Upon the seventh of January following, the house of commons came to a resolution, to thank his grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great services ; but, notwithstanding this, it very soon appeared, that there was a strong party formed against the war, and steps were taken to censure and disgrace the conduct of the duke.

All things being concerted for rendering the next year's campaign more successful than the former, the duke, in the beginning of April, 1706, embarked for Holland. This year the famous battle of Ramillies was fought, and won, upon the twelfth of May, being Whitsunday. The duke was twice here in the utmost danger, once by a fall from his horse, and a second time by a cannon-shot, which took off the head of colonel Bingfield, as he was holding the stirrup for his grace to remount.

The advantages gained by this victory were so far improved by the vigilance and wisdom of the duke, that Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, and

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and even Ghent and Bruges, submitted to king Charles III. of Spain without a stroke; and Oudenard surrendered upon the first summons. The city of Antwerp followed this example. And thus, in the short space of a fortnight, the duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquissate of the holy empire, to the obedience of king Charles. He afterwards took the towns of Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth.

The forces of the allies, after this glorious campaign, being about to separate, his grace, on the sixteenth of October, went to the Hague; where the proposals, which France had made for peace, contained in a letter from the elector of Bavaria to the duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the ministers of the allies; after which his grace embarked for England on the fifteenth of November.

He arrived at London upon the eighteenth of November, 1706; and, though at this time there was a party formed against him at court, yet the great services he had done the nation, and the personal esteem the queen always had for him, procured him an universal good reception.

The house of commons, in their address to the queen, spoke of the success of the campaign in general, and of the duke of Marlborough's share in particular, in the strongest terms possible; and the day after unanimously voted him their thanks; and the lords did the same.

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same. They went still farther; for, on the seventeenth of December, they addressed the queen for leave to bring in a bill to settle the duke's honours upon the male and female issue of his daughters. This was granted; and Blenheim house, with the manor of Woodstock, was, after the decease of the duchess, upon whom they were settled in jointure, entailed in the same manner with the honours.

Two days after this, the standards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in state through the city, in order to be hung up in Guildhall, his grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the lord-mayor, which he accordingly did.

The last day of the year was appointed for a general thanksgiving, and her majesty went in state to St Paul's; in which there was this singularity observed, that it was the second thanksgiving within the year.

On the seventeenth of January the house of commons presented an address to the queen, in which they signified, That, as her majesty had built the house of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the duke of Marlborough's services; and, as the house of lords had ordered a bill for continuing his honours; so they were desirous to make some provision for the more honourable support of his dignity. In consequence of this, and of the queen's answer, the pension of five thousand pounds per annum from the post office was settled in the manner the queen had formerly desired of another

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ther house of commons, who happened not to be in quite so good a temper.

These points adjusted, his grace made haste to return to his charge, it being thought necessary he should acquaint the foreign ministers at the Hague, that the queen of Great-Britain would hearken to no proposals of peace but what would firmly secure the general tranquillity of Europe.

The campaign of the year 1707 proved the most barren one he ever made; which was chiefly owing to a failure on the part of the allies, who began to flag in supporting the common cause. Nor did things go on more to his mind at home; for, upon his return to England, after the campaign was over, he found that the fire, which he suspected the year before, had broke out in his absence; that the queen had a female favourite, who was in a fair way of supplanting the duchess; and that he listened to the insinuations of a statesman, who was no friend to him. He is said to have borne all this with firmness and patience, though he easily saw whither it tended; and went to Holland, as usual, early in the spring of the year 1708, arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March.

The ensuing campaign was carried on by the duke, in conjunction with prince Eugene, with such prodigious success, that the French king thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to set on foot a negotiation for peace.

The



## JOHN CHURCHILL. 21

The house of commons this year gave an uncommon testimony of their respect for the duke of Marlborough ; for, besides addressing the queen, they, on the twenty-second of January, 1708-9, unanimously voted thanks to his grace, and ordered them to be transmitted to him abroad by the speaker.

His grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February ; and, on his first appearance in the house of lords, received the thanks of that august assembly. His stay was so very short, that we need not dwell upon what passed in the winter. It is sufficient to say, that they, who feared the dangerous effects of those artful proposals France had been making for the conclusion of a general peace, were also of opinion, that no body was so capable of setting their danger in a true light in Holland, as his grace of Marlborough. This induced the queen to send him thither, in the latter end of March, in the character of her plenipotentiary ; which contributed not a little to the enemy's disappointment, by defeating all their projects.

Marshal Villars commanded the French army, in the campaign of the year 1709 ; and Lewis XIV. expressed no small hopes of him, in saying, a little before the opening of it, that " Villars was never beat." However, the siege of Tournay, and the battle of Malplaquet, convinced the monarch, that Villars was not invincible.

Upon

Upon the news of the glorious victory gained upon the first of August, 1709, the city of London renewed the congratulatory addresses to the queen; and her majesty in council, on the third of October following, ordered a proclamation for a general thanksgiving.

The duke of Marlborough came to St. James's on the tenth of November, and soon after received the thanks of both houses; and the queen, as it deserves of any occasion to shew her kindness to his grace, appointed him lord lieutenant, and *custos rotularum*, of the county of Oxford. But, amidst these honours, preferments, and favours, the duke was really chagrined to the last degree. He perceived, that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland; the affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the queen was not only estranged from the duchess of Marlborough, but had taken such a dislike to her, that she seldom appeared at court.

In the beginning of the year 1710, the French set on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly distinguished by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburg. The states general, upon this, having shewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French plenipotentiaries, the house of commons immediately framed an address to the queen, that she would be pleased to send the  
duke

duke of Marlborough over to the Hague. She did so; and, towards the latter end of February, his grace went to the Hague, where he met with prince Eugene, and soon after set out with him for the army, which was assembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

This campaign was very successful, many towns being taken and fortresses reduced: notwithstanding which, when the duke came over to England, as he did about the middle of December, he found his interest declining, and his services set at nought. The negotiations for peace were carried on during a great part of the summer, but ended at last in nothing.

In the midst of the summer, the queen began the great change in her ministry, by removing the earl of Sunderland from being secretary of state; and, on the eighth of August, the lord-treasurer Godolphin was likewise removed.

Upon the meeting of the parliament, no notice was taken in the addresses of the duke of Marlborough's success; an attempt, indeed, was made to procure him the thanks of the house of peers, but it was eagerly opposed by the duke of Argyle. His grace was kindly received by the queen, who seemed desirous to have him live upon good terms with her new ministry; but this was thought impracticable, and it was every day expected, that he would lay down his commission. He did not do this; but he carried the golden key, the  
ensign

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enign of the duchels of Marlborough's dignity, on the ninth of January, 1710-11, to the queen, and resigned all her employments with great duty and submission. With the same firmness and composure he consulted the necessary measures for the next campaign with those whom he knew to be no friends of his; and treated all parties with candour and respect.

There is no doubt, that the duke felt some inward disquiet, though he shewed no outward concern; at least for himself: but, when the earl of Galway was indecently treated in the house of lords, the duke of Marlborough could not help saying, It was somewhat strange that generals, who had acted according to the best of their understandings, and had lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like offenders about insignificant things.

An exterior civility, in court language stiled a good understanding, being established between the duke and the new ministry, the duke went over to the Hague to prepare for the next campaign, which, at the same time, he knew would be his last. He exerted himself in an uncommon manner, and was attended with the same success as usual.

There was, in this campaign, a continued trial of skill between the duke of Marlborough and marshal Villars; and, as great a general as the latter was, he was obliged at length to submit to the former.

He

He embarked for England, when the campaign was over, and came to London upon the eighth of November. He shewed some caution in his manner of coming ; for happening to land the very night of queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited on the queen at Hampton-court, who received him graciously. He was visited by the ministers, and visited them ; but he did not go to council, because a negotiation of peace was then on the carpet, upon a basis which he did by no means approve.

He acquainted her majesty, in the audience he had at his arrival, that, as he could not concur in the measures of those, who directed her councils, so he would not distract them by a fruitless opposition : yet, finding himself attacked in the house of lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war ; he vindicated his conduct and character with great dignity and spirit : and, in a most pathetic speech, appealed to the queen his mistress, who was there incognito, for the falsehood of that imputation ; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was such a peace as might be expected from a war undertaken on so just motives, and carried on with uninterrupted success.

This had a great effect on that august assembly, and perhaps made some impression on the queen ; but, at the same time, it gave such an

edge to the resentment of his enemies, who were then in power, that they resolved, at all adventures, to remove him. Those who were thus resolved to divest him of his commission, found themselves under a necessity to engage the queen to take it from him. This necessity arose chiefly from prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commission from the emperor; and to give some colour to it, an enquiry was promoted in the house of commons to fix a very high imputation upon the duke, as if he had put very large sums of public money into his pocket. When a question to this purpose had been carried, the queen, by a letter conceived in very obscure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occasion for his service, and dismissed him from all his employments.

He was from this time exposed to a most painful persecution. On the one hand, he was attacked by the clamours of the populace, and by those licentious scriblers, who are always ready to espouse the quarrels of a ministry, and to insult, without mercy, whatever they know may be insulted with impunity. On the other hand, a prosecution was commenced against him by the attorney-general, for applying public money to his private use; and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-house, though set at work by the crown, were encouraged to sue his grace for the money that was due to them. All his actions were also shamefully misrepresented.

These

These uneasinesses, joined to his grief for the death of the earl of Godolphin, inclined his grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile. Accordingly, he embarked at Dover, upon the fourteenth of November, 1712; and landing at Ostend, went from thence to Antwerp, and so to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank and merit. The duchess of Marlborough also attended her lord in all his journies, and particularly in his visit to the principality of Mildenheim, which was given him by the emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace, which was made while the duke was abroad.

The conclusion of that peace was so far from restoring any harmony among the several parties of Great-Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly; insomuch that the chiefs, despairing of safety in the way they were in, are said to have secretly invited the duke of Marlborough back to England. Be that as it will, it is very certain that the duke took a resolution of returning a little before the queen's death; and, landing at Dover, came to London upon the fourth of August, 1714.

He was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, by those who, (upon the demise of the queen, which had happened upon the first of that month) were entrusted with the government; and upon the arrival of king George I. was particularly distinguished by

acts of royal favour ; for he was again declared captain-general, and commander in chief, of all his majesty's land-forces, colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance.

His advice was of great use in concerting those measures by which the rebellion in the year 1715 was crushed ; and his advice on this occasion was the last effort he made in respect to public affairs ; for his infirmities encreasing with his years, he retired from business, and spent the greatest part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his country-houses.

His death happened upon the sixteenth of June, 1722, in his seventy-third year, at Windsor-lodge ; and his corpse, upon the ninth of August following, was interred, with the highest solemnity, in Westminster-abbey.

Besides the marquis of Blandford, whom we have already mentioned, his grace had four daughters, which married into the best families of the kingdom.

**T H E**







*Andino sculp.*

*Matthew Prior.*

THE LIFE OF

MATTHEW PRIOR.

**T**HIS celebrated poet was the son of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London, who was by profession a joiner. Our author was born in 1664. His father dying when he was very young, left him to the care of an uncle, a vintner near Charing-cross, who discharged the trust that was reposed in him with a tenderness truly paternal, as Mr. Prior always acknowledged with the highest professions of gratitude.

He received part of his education at Westminster school, where he distinguished himself to great advantage; but was afterwards taken home by his uncle in order to be bred up to his trade.

Notwithstanding this mean employment, to which Mr. Prior seemed now doomed, yet, at his leisure hours, he prosecuted his study of the classics, and especially his favourite Horace; by which means he was soon taken notice of by the polite company who resorted to his uncle's house.

It happened one day, that the earl of Dorset, being at this tavern, which he often fre-

quented with several gent'lemen of rank, the discourse turned upon the Odes of Horace; and, the company being divided in their sentiments about a passage in that poet, one of the gentlemen said, "I find we are not like to agree in our criticisms; but, if I am not mistaken, there is a young fellow in the house, who is able to set us all right:" upon which he named Prior, who was immediately sent for, and desired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the ode under consideration. This he did with great modesty, and so much to the satisfaction of the company, that the earl of Dorset, from that moment, determined to remove him from the station in which he was, to one more suited to his genius; and accordingly procured him to be sent to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1686, and afterwards became a fellow of the college.

During his residence in the university, he contracted an intimate friendship with Charles Montague, esq afterwards earl of Halifax; in conjunction with whom he wrote a very humorous piece, entitled, *The Hind and Panther*, transversed to the story of the *Country Mouse and the City Mouse*, printed, in 1687, in quarto, in answer to Mr. Dryden's *Hind and Panther*, published the year before.

Upon the revolution, Mr. Prior was brought to court by his great patron the earl of Dorset, by whose interest he was introduced to public employ-

## MATTHEW PRIOR. 31

employment ; and, in the year 1690, was made secretary to the earl of Berkley, plenipotentiary to king William and queen Mary at the congress at the Hague.

In this station he acquitted himself so well, that he was afterwards appointed secretary to the earls of Pembroke, and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, ambassadors, and plenipotentiaries, at the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697 ; as he was likewise, in 1698, to the earl of Portland, ambassador to the court of France.

While he was in that kingdom, one of the officers of the French king's household, shewing him the royal apartments and curiosities at Versailles, especially the paintings of Le Brun, wherein the victories of Lewis XIV. are described, asked him, Whether king William's actions were to be seen in his palace. " No, Sir ;" replied Mr. Prior ; " the monuments of my master's actions are to be seen every where, but in his own house."

In the year 1697, Mr. Prior was made secretary of state for Ireland ; and, in 1700, was created master of arts by mandamus ; and appointed one of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, upon the resignation of Mr. Locke. He was also member of parliament for East-Grinstead, in Suffex.

In 1710, he was supposed to have had a share in writing the Examiner ; and particularly a

criticism in it upon a poem of Dr. Garth's to the earl of Godolphin, taken notice of in the life of Garth.

About this time, when Godolphin was defeated by Oxford, and the Tories, who had long been eclipsed by the lustre of Marlborough, began again to hold up their heads; Mr. Prior and Dr. Garth espoused opposite interests; Mr. Prior wrote for, and Garth against, the court. The Dr. was so far honest, that he did not desert his patron in distress; and, notwithstanding the cloud which then hung upon the party, he addressed verses to him, which, however they may fail in poetry, bear the strongest marks of gratitude and honour.

While Mr. Prior was thus very early initiated in public business, and continued in the hurry of business for many years, it must appear not a little surprizing, that he should find sufficient opportunities to cultivate his poetical talents to the amazing height he raised them. In his preface to his poems, he says, that poetry was only the product of his leisure hours; that he had commonly business enough upon his hands; and, as he modestly adds, was only a poet by accident; but we must take the liberty of differing from him in the last particular; for Mr. Prior seems to have received from the muses, at his nativity, all the graces they could well bestow on their greatest favourite.

We

## MATTHEW PRIOR. 33

We must not omit one instance in Mr. Prior's conduct, which will appear very remarkable. He was chosen a member of that parliament which impeached the Partition-Treaty, to which he himself had been secretary, and, though his share in that transaction was consequently very considerable, yet he joined in the impeachment upon an honest principle of conviction, that exceptionable measures attended it.

The lord Bolingbroke, who, notwithstanding many exceptions made both to his conduct, and sentiments, in other instances, yet must be allowed to be an accomplished judge of fine talents, entertained the highest esteem for Mr. Prior, on account of his shining abilities.

This noble lord, in a letter dated on the tenth of September, 1712, addressed to Mr. Prior, while he was the queen's minister and plenipotentiary at the court of France, pays him the following compliment :

“ For God's sake, Matt. hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets.”

——His lordship thus concludes his epistle :

“ It is near three o'clock in the morning ; I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue ; excuse therefore the confusedness of this scrawl,

C 5 which

which is only from Harry to Matt. and not from the secretary to the minister. Adieu, my pen is ready to drop out of my hand, it being now three o'clock in the morning: believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully

“Yours, &c.

“BOLINGBROKE.”

There are several other letters from Bolingbroke to Prior, which, were it necessary, we might insert as evidences of his esteem for him; but Mr. Prior was, in every respect, so great a man, that the esteem, even of lord Bolingbroke, cannot add much to the lustre of his reputation, both as a statesman and a poet.

Mr. Prior is represented, by those who knew, and have wrote concerning him, as a gentleman who united the elegance and politeness of a court, with the scholar and the man of genius. This representation, in general, may be just; yet it holds almost invariably true, that they who have risen from low life, still retain some traces of their original. No cultivation, no genius, it seems, is able, entirely to surmount this. There was one particular in which Mr. Prior verified the old proverb.

The same woman who could charm the waiter in a tavern, still maintained her dominion over the ambassador at France. The Chloe of Prior, it seems, was a woman in his station



station of life; but he never forsook her in the height of his reputation. Hence we may observe, that associations with women are the most lasting of all; and, that, when an eminent station raises a man above all other acts of condescension, a mistress will maintain her influence; charm away the pride of greatness: and make the hero who fights, and the patriot who speaks, for the liberty of his country, a slave to her. One would imagine, however, that this woman, who was a butcher's wife, must either have been very handsome, or have had something about her superior to people of her rank: but it seems the case was otherwise, and no better reason can be given for his attachment to her, but, that she was his taste. Her husband suffered their intrigue to go unmolested; for he was proud even of such a connection as this with so great a man as Prior.—A singular instance of good nature.

In the year 1715, Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and upon his arrival was taken up by a warrant from the house of commons; shortly after which, he underwent a very strict examination by a committee of the privy-council. His political friend, lord Bolingbroke, foreseeing a storm, took shelter in France, and secured Harry, but left poor Matt. in the lurch.

On the tenth of June, Robert Walpole, esq. moved the house against him; and, on

the seventh, Mr Prior was ordered into close custody, and no person was admitted to see him without leave from the speaker. For the particulars of this procedure of the parliament, both against Mr. Prior, and many others concerned in the public transactions of the preceding reign, we refer to the histories of that time

In the year 1717, an act of grace was passed in favour of those who had opposed the Hanoverian succession, as well as those who had been in open rebellion; but Mr. Prior was excepted out of it. At the close of this year, however, he was discharged from his confinement, and retired to spend the residue of his days at Downhall in Essex.

The severe usage which Mr. Prior met with, perhaps, was the occasion of the following beautiful lines, addressed to his Chloe:

From public noise, and factious strife,  
From all the busy ills of life,  
Take me, my Chloe, to thy breast,  
And lull my wearied soul to rest;  
For ever, in this humble cell,  
Let thee and I, my fair one, dwell;  
None enter else, but Love;—and he  
Shall bar the door, and keep the key.

To painted roofs, and shining spires,  
Uneasy seats of high desires,

Let

Let the unthinking many croud,  
 That dare be covetous and proud ;  
 In golden bondage let them wait,  
 And barter happiness for state.  
 But, oh! my Chloe, when thy swain  
 Desires to see a court again,  
 May Heaven, around his destin'd head,  
 The choicest of his curses shed ;  
 To sum up all the rage of Fate,  
 In the two things I dread and hate,  
 May't thou be false, and I be great. }

In July, 1725, within two months of his death, Mr. Prior published the following beautiful little tale, on the falshood of mankind, entitled, *The Conversation*; and applied it to the truth, honour and justice of his grace the duke of Somerset.

### THE CONVERSATION : a Tale.

IT always has been thought discreet  
 To know the company you meet ;  
 And sure there may be secret danger  
 In talking much before a stranger.  
 Agreed What then? Then drink your ale;  
 I'll pledge you, and repeat my tale,

No matter where the scene is fix'd,  
 The persons were but odly mix'd,  
 When sober Damon thus began :  
 (And Damon is a clever man)

“ I now

“ I now grow old ; but still, from youth,  
 Have held for modesty and truth :  
 The men who by these sea-marks steer,  
 In life's great voyage, never err :  
 Upon this point, I dare defy  
 The world.. I pause for a reply.”

“ Sir, either is a good assistant,”  
 Said one, who sat a little distant ;  
 “ Truth decks our speeches, and our books,  
 And Modesty adorns our looks :  
 But farther progress we must take ;  
 Not only born to look and speak,  
 The man must act. The Itagyrite  
 Says thus, and says extremely right :  
 Strict justice is the sovereign guide,  
 That o'er our actions should preside :  
 This queen of virtue is confets'd  
 To regulate and bind the rest.  
 Thrice happy, if you can but find  
 Her equal ballance poise your mind :  
 All diff'rent graces soon will enter,  
 Like lines concurrent to their center.”

'Twas thus, in short, these two went on,  
 With yea, and nay, and pro, and con ;  
 Thro' many points divinely dark,  
 And Waterland assaulting Clark ;  
 'Till, in theology half lost,  
 Damon took up the Evening Post ;  
 Confounded Spain, compos'd the North,  
 And deep in politics held forth.

“ Methinks,

MATTHEW PRIOR. 39

“ Methinks, we’re in the like condition,  
As at the Treaty of Partition ;  
That stroke, for all king William’s care,  
Begot another tedious war.  
Matthew, who knew the whole intrigue,  
Ne’er much approv’d that mystic league ;  
In the vile Utrecht treaty too,  
Poor man ! he found enough to do.  
Sometime to me he did apply ;  
But downright Dunstable was I,  
And told him where they were mistaken,  
And counsell’d him to save his back :  
But (pass his politics and prose)  
I never herded with his foes ;  
Nay, in his verses, as a friend,  
I still found something to commend.  
Sir, I excus’d his Nut-brown Maid,  
Whate’er severer critics said :  
Too far, I own, the girl was try’d ;  
The women all were on my side.  
For Alma I return’d him thanks ;  
I lik’d her with her little pranks .  
Indeed, poor Solomon, in rhyme,  
Was much too grave to be sublime.”

Pindar and Damon scorn transition,  
So on he ran a new division ;  
Till, out of breath, he turn’d to spit :  
(Chance often helps us more than wit)  
T’other, that lucky moment took,  
Just nick’d the time, broke in, and spoke :

“ Of

## 40 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

“ Of all the gifts the gods afford  
 (If we may take old Tully's word)  
 The greatest is a friend, whose love  
 Knows how to praise, and when reprove :  
 From such a treasure never part,  
 But hang the jewel on your heart.  
 And pray, Sir, it delights me, tell ;  
 You know this author mighty well,” —  
 “ Know him ! D'ye question it ? ods fish !  
 Sir, does a beggar know his dish ?  
 I lov'd him, as I told you, I  
 Advis'd him” — Here a flander by  
 Twitch'd Damon by the cloak,  
 And thus unwilling silence broke :  
 “ Damon, 'tis time we should retire,  
 The man you talk with is Matt. Prior.”

Patron, thro' life, and from thy birth, my  
 friend,  
 Dorset, to thee this fable let me send ;  
 With Damon's lightness weigh thy fold worth ;  
 The foil is known to set the diamond forth :  
 Let the feign'd tale this real moral give,  
 How many Damons, how few Dorsets, live !

Mr. Prior, after the fatigue of a length of  
 years passed in various services of action, was  
 desirous of spending the remainder of his days  
 in rural tranquility, which the greatest men of  
 all ages have been fond of enjoying : he was  
 so happy as to succeed in his wish, living a  
 very retired, and contemplative life, at Down-  
 hall

hall, in Essex; and found, as he expressed himself, a more solid, and innocent, satisfaction, among the woods, and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry, and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting foreign negotiations: and where, as he melodiously sings,

The remnant of his days he lately past,  
Nor found they begg'd too slow, nor flew too  
fast;  
He made his wish with his estate comply.  
Joyful to live, yet not afraid to die.

This great man died on the eighteenth of September, 1721 at Wimple, in Cambridgeshire, the seat of the earl of Oxford, with whose friendship he had been honoured for some years. The death of so distinguished a person was justly esteemed an irreparable loss to the polite world; and his memory will be ever dear to those who have any relish for the muses in their softer charms.

Some of the latter part of his life was employed in collecting materials for an History of the Transactions of his own Times; but his death unfortunately deprived the world of what the touches of so masterly a hand would have made exceeding valuable.

Mr. Prior, by the suffrage of all men of taste, holds the first rank in poetry for the delicacy of his numbers; the wittiness of his  
turns.

## 42 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

turns ; the acuteness of his remarks ; and, in one performance, for the amazing force of his sentiments. The style of our author is likewise so pure, that our language knows no higher authority ; and there is an air of original in his minutest performances.

It would be superfluous to give a detail of his poems, they are all in the hands of those who love poetry ; and have been as often admired as read. The performance, however, for which he is most distinguished, is his Solomon ; a poem in three books : the first, on Knowledge ; the second, on Pleasure ; and the third, on Power. We know few poems to which this is second, and it justly established his reputation as one of the best writers of his age.

This sublime work begins thus,

Ye sons of men, with just regard attend,  
Observe the preacher, and regard the friend,  
Whose serious muse inspires him to explain,  
That all we act, and all we think, is—vain ;  
That, in this pilgrimage of seventy years,  
O'er rocks of perils, and thro' vales of tears,  
Destin'd to march, our doubtful steps we tend,  
Tir'd of the toil, yet fearful of its end :  
That, from the womb, we take our fatal shares  
Of follies, fashions, labours, tumults, cares ;

And,



And, at the approach of death, shall only  
 know,—  
 The truths which from these pensive num-  
 bers flow,  
 That we pursue false joy, and suffer real  
 woe.

After an enquiry into, and an excellent de-  
 scription of, the various operations and effects  
 of nature, the system of the heavens, &c. and  
 not being fully informed of them, the first  
 book concludes,

How narrow limits were to wisdom given ?  
 Earth she surveys ; she thence would measure  
 heaven :  
 Thro' mists obscure now wings her tedious  
 way ;  
 Now wanders dazzl'd with too bright a day ;  
 And, from the summit of a pathless coast,  
 Sees infinite, and in that sight is lost.

In the second book, the uncertainty, dis-  
 appointment, and vexation, attending plea-  
 sure in general, are admirably described ; and,  
 in the character of Solomon, is sufficiently  
 shewn, that nothing debases majesty, or in-  
 deed any man, more than ungovernable pas-  
 sion.

When thus the gath'ring storms of wretched  
 love,  
 In my swoln bosom, with long war had strove;  
 At

#### 44 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

At length they broke their bounds ; at length  
their force

Bore down whatever met its stronger course :  
Laid all the civil bounds of manhood waste,  
And scatter'd ruin as the torrent past.

The third book treats particularly of the trouble and instability of greatness and power ; considers man through the several stages and conditions of life, and has excellent reasoning upon Life and Death. On the last are these lines :

Cure of the miser's wish, and coward's fear,  
Death only shews us what we knew was near.  
With courage therefore view the pointed hour ;  
Dread not Death's anger, but expect its  
power ;  
Nor Nature's laws with fruitless sorrow mourn ;  
But die, oh mortal man ! for thou wast born.

The poet has likewise these Similes on Life :

As smoke that rises from the kindling fires  
Is seen this moment, and the next expires ;  
As empty clouds by rising winds are tost,  
Their fleeting forms no sooner found than lost ;  
So vanishes our state ; so pass our days ;  
So life but opens now, and now decays :  
The cradle and the tomb, alas ! so nigh ;  
To live is scarce distinguish'd from to die.

We shall conclude this account of Mr. Prior's Life with the following copy of verses.

MATTHEW PRIOR. 45

written on his death, by Robert Ingram, esq.  
which is a very successful imitation of Mr.  
Prior's manner.

• I.

Mat. Prior!—(and we must submit)  
Is at his journey's end ;  
In whom the world has lost a wit,  
And I, what's more, a friend.

II.

Who vainly hopes long here to stay.  
May see, with weeping eyes,  
Not only nature parts away,  
But e'en good-nature dies !

III.

Should grave ones count these praises light,  
To such it may be said ;  
A man, in this lamented wight,  
Of business too is dead.

IV.

From ancestors, as might a fool !  
He trac'd no high-fetch'd stem ;  
But gloriously revers'd the rule,  
By dignifying them.

V.

Oh ! gentle Cambridge ! sadly say,  
Why fates are so unkind

To

46 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

To snatch thy giant sons away,  
Whilst pigmies stay behind?

VI.

Horace and he were call'd, in haste,  
From this vile earth to heav'n ;  
The cruel year not fully past,  
Ætatis, Fifty-seven.

VII.

So, on the tops of Lebanon,  
Tall cedars felt the sword,  
To grace, by care of Solomon,  
The temple of the Lord.

VIII.

A tomb amidst the learned may  
The western abbey give !  
Like their's, his ashes must decay ;  
Like their's, his fame shall live.

IX.

Close, carver, by some well-cut books,  
Let a thin busto tell,  
In spite of plump and pamper'd looks,  
How scanty sense can dwell !

X.

No epitaph of tedious length  
Should overcharge the stone ;

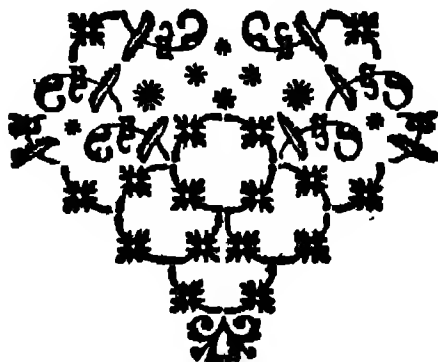
Since

MATTHEW PRIOR. 47

Since loftiest verse would lose its strength,  
In mentioning his own.

XI.

At once! and not verbosely tame,  
Some brave Laconic pen  
Should smartly touch his ample name,  
In form of——O rare Ben!



THE

THE LIFE OF  
GILBERT BURNET.

GILBERT BURNET, bishop of Salisbury, was born at Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of September, 1643. His father was the younger brother of an antient family in Aberdeenshire, and bred to the civil law; in which, though he made no shining figure at the bar, his modesty depressing too much his abilities, he raised himself to so great a reputation, that, at the restoration of king Charles II. he was, in reward of his constant attachment to the royal party, appointed one of the lords of session at Edinburgh. His mother was sister to the famous Sir Alexander Johnston, and a warm zealot for presbytery.

Mr. Burnet being out of employment, by reason of his refusing to acknowledge Cromwell's authority, took upon himself the charge of his son's education, who, at ten years of age, was sent to the college of Aberdeen. His father, who still continued to be his principal instructor, obliged him to rise to his studies at four o'clock every morning; by which means he contracted such a habit as he never discontinued till a few years before his death, when



*Bishop Burnet.*





when age and infirmities rendered a greater proportion of rest necessary to him.

Though his father had designed him for the church, yet he would not divert him from pursuing his own inclination to civil and feudal law, to which study he applied himself a whole year, and received from it, as he was often heard to say, juster notions concerning the foundations of civil-society, and government, than are maintained by some divines. He altered his resolution of prosecuting this study, and applied, with his father's warm approbation, to that of divinity.

In his hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of history; and, as he had a very strong constitution, and a prodigious memory, this close application was no inconvenience to him; so that he made himself master of a vast extent of learning, which he had ready for his use upon all occasions.

At eighteen, he was admitted a probationer, or expectant preacher; and soon after an offer of a good benefice was made him, which he declined.

In 1669, about two years after the death of his father, he came into England; and, after six months stay at Oxford and Cambridge, returned to Scotland; which he soon after left again, to make a tour of some months, in 1674, in Holland and France. At Amsterdam, by the help of a Jewish rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language, and likewise became acquainted with the leading

men of the different persuasions tolerated in that country; as Calvinists, Armenians, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, Papists, and Unitarians; amongst each of which he used frequently to declare, he met with men of such unfeigned piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all severities, on account of religious dissensions.

On his return to Scotland, he was admitted into holy orders, by the bishop of Edinburgh, in 1665, and presented to the living of Saltoun. The conduct of the Scotch bishops seemed to him unbecoming the episcopal character, that he drew up a memorial of their abuses.

In 1668, he was employed in negotiating the scheme of accommodation between the episcopal and presbyterian parties; and, by his advice, many of the latter were put into the vacant churches.

The year following, he was made divinity professor at Glasgow; where he continued four years and a half, equally hated by the zealots of both parties. In the frequent visits he made to the duchess of Hamilton, he so far gained her confidence, as to be intrusted with the perusal and arrangement of her papers relating to her father's and uncle's ministry; which put him upon writing Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, and occasioned his being invited to London by the earl of Lauderdale, who

who offered to furnish him with some anecdotes towards compiling those Memoirs.

During his stay in London, we are told by his self and son, he was offered the choice of four bishoprics in Scotland, which he refused.

On his return to Glasgow, he married lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Cassiles, a lady of great piety and knowledge, highly esteemed by the Presbyterians, to whose sentiments she was strongly inclined. As there was some disparity in their ages, that it might remain past dispute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen into his hands, she herself having no intention to secure it.

In 1672, he published, *A Vindication, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland*; which, at that juncture, was looked upon as so great a service, that he was again offered a bishopric, and a promise of the next vacant archbishopric, but did not accept of it, because he remarked, that the great design of the court was to advance popery.

In 1673, he took another journey to London; and, by the king's own nomination, after hearing him preach, was made one of his chaplains in ordinary.

Upon his return to Scotland, he retired to his station at Glasgow, but was obliged the next year to return to court, to justify himself against the accusations of duke Lauderdale, who had represented him as the cause of the miscarriages of all the court measures in Scotland. The king received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be struck out of the list of chaplains ; yet, at the duke of York's intreaty, consented to hear what he could offer in his own justification ; with which he seemed to be satisfied : nevertheless, as Lauderdale had not dropt his resentment, Mr. Burnet, who was told that his enemies had a design to get him imprisoned, resigned his professor's chair at Glasgow, and resolved to settle in London.

He preached in several churches, and had been actually chose minister of one, had not the electors been deterred from it by a letter in the king's name.

About this time the living of Cripple-gate being vacant, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, in whose gift it was, hearing of his circumstances and the hardships he had undergone, sent him an offer of the benefice ; but, as he had been informed of their first intention of conferring it on Dr. Fowler, he generously declined it.

In 1675, at the recommendation of lord Hollis, whom he had known in France, ambassador at that court, he was, by Sir Har-  
bottle

bottle Grimston, master of the rolls, appointed preacher of the chapel there, notwithstanding the opposition of the court. He was soon after chosen a lecturer of St. Clement's, and became one of the preachers that were most followed in town.

In 1657, he published his History of the Reformation, for which he had the thanks of both houses of parliament.

Two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same approbation as the first.

About this time he attended a sick person, who had been engaged in an amour with the earl of Rochester. The manner in which he treated her, during her illness, gave that lord a great curiosity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, he spent one evening a week with Mr. Burnet; who discoursed with him upon all those topics, upon which sceptics, and men of loose morals, attack the Christian religion. The happy effect of these conferences occasioned the publication of his account of the life and death of that earl.

In 1682, when the administration was changed in favour of the duke of York, being much resorted to by persons of all ranks and parties, in order to avoid returning visits, he built a laboratory, and, went, for above a year, through a course of chemical experiments. Not long after, he refused a living of three hundred a year, offered him by the earl

off Essex, on the terms of ~~not~~ residing there, but in London.

His behaviour at the lord Russel's trial, and his attendance on him in prison, and at his execution, with the suspicion of his being concerned in drawing up that nobleman's speech, having drawn on him the indignation of the court, he took a short tour to Paris, where unusual civilities were shewn him by the king of France's express direction; and he became acquainted with several eminent persons; but, not thinking it right to be longer absent from the duties of his calling, he returned to London; and that very year, in pursuance of the king's mandate, was discharged from his lectureship at St. Clement's; and having, on the fifth of November, 1684, preached a sermon at the Roll's chapel, severely inveighing against the doctrines of popery, and the principles of the Papists, he was, in December following, forbid to preach there any more.

On king James's accession to the throne, having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he first went to Paris, and lived in great retirement, till, contracting an acquaintance with brigadier Stoupe, a protestant gentleman in the French service, he made a tour with him to Italy.

He met with an agreeable reception at Rome: pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, sent the captain of the Swiss guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony  
of

of kissing his holiness's slipper, but Dr. Burnet excused himself as well as he could.

One evening, upon visiting cardinal Howard, he found him distributing some relicks to two French gentlemen; when he whispered to him in English, that it was somewhat odd, that a clergyman of the church of England should be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The cardinal smiled at the remark; and repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the heretics, and how mild the cardinals were at Rome.

Some disputes which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which, upon an intimation given him by the prince Borghese, he accordingly did, and pursued his travels through Switzerland and Germany.

In 1688, he came to Utrecht, with an intention to settle in some of the seven provinces. There he received an invitation from the prince and princess of Orange, to whom their party in England had recommended him, to come to the Hague; which he accepted. He was soon made acquainted with the secret of their counsels, and advised the fitting out of a fleet in Holland sufficient to support their designs and encourage their friends. This, and the account of his travels, in which he endeavoured to blend popery and tyranny together, and represent them as inseparable; with

some papers, reflecting on the proceedings of England, that came out in single sheets, and were dispersed in several parts of England, most of which Mr. Burnet owns himself the author of, alarmed king James, and were the occasion of his writing twice against him to the princess of Orange; and insisting, by his ambassador, on his being forbid the court: which, after much importunity, was done, though he continued to be trusted and employed as before, the Dutch ministers consulting him daily. But that which gave, he tells us, the crisis to the king's anger, was, the news of Burnet's being to be married to a considerable fortune at the Hague.

To put an end to his frequent conferences with the ministers, a prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him both in England and Scotland; but Burnet receiving the news thereof before it came to the states, he avoided the storm, by petitioning for, and obtaining, without any difficulty, a bill of naturalization, in order to his intended marriage with Mary Scot, a Dutch lady of considerable fortune, who, with the advantage of birth, had those of a fine person and understanding.

After his marriage with this lady, being legally under the protection of Holland, he undertook, in a letter to the earl of Middleton, to answer all the matters laid to his charge; and added, that, being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance was, during his stay in these parts, transferred from his majesty to  
the



the states-general; and, in another letter, that, if, upon non<sup>e</sup> appearance, a sentence should be passed against him, he might, to justify himself, be forced to give an account of the share he had in affairs, in which he might be led to mention what he was afraid would not please his majesty.

These expressions gave such offence to the English court, that, dropping the former prosecution, they proceeded against him as guilty of high-treason; and a sentence of outlawry was passed upon him; and thereupon the king first demanded him to be delivered up, and afterwards insisted on his being banished the Seven Provinces; which the states refused; alleging, that he was become their subject; and, if the king had any thing to lay to Dr. Burnet's charge, justice should be done in their courts.

This put an end to all farther application to the states; and Dr. Burnet, secured from any danger, went on in assisting and forwarding the important affair of the revolution. He gave early notice of it to the court of Hanover; intimating, that the success of that project must naturally end in a succession of that illustrious house to the British crown. He wrote also several pamphlets in support of the prince of Orange's designs, and assisted in drawing up his declaration, &c. and when he undertook the expedition to England, Dr. Burnet accompanied him as his chaplain.

After

After his landing at Exeter, he proposed and drew up the association, and was of no small service on several occasions by a seasonable display of pulpit-eloquence, to animate the prince's followers, and gain over others to his interest.

Nor did his services pass unrewarded; for king William had not been many days on the throne before Dr. Burnet was advanced to the see of Salisbury, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, deceased, being consecrated on the thirty-first of May, 1689. He distinguished himself in the house of lords, by declaring for moderate measures with regard to the clergy, who scrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the protestant dissenters.

A passage in his pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, concerning the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to king William and queen Mary, dated on the fifteenth of May, 1689, which seemed to ground their title to the crown on the right of conquest, gave such offence to both houses of parliament, that they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

As soon as the session of parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his diocese; where he was very exact in the discharge of his function; and was particularly scrupulous in conferring of orders and admitting to livings.

In 1698, he lost his wife by the small-pox; and, as he was, almost immediately after, ap-

pointed preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, of whose education he took great care, this employment, and the tender age of his children, induced him the same year to supply her loss, by a marriage with Mrs. Berkley, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Blake, knight, the fifth son of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, esq. of an antient family; and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr Bathurst, an eminent physician in London. She was born on the eighth of November, 1661.

At a little more than seventeen years of age, she was married to Robert Berkley, of Spetchly, in the county of Worcester, esq. grandson of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a judge in the time of king Charles I.

Mr. Berkley's mother was a papist, but Mr. Berkley himself a protestant; which put Mrs. Berkley upon studying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary strictness in her whole conduct.

In king James's time, when the fears of popery began to increase, she prevailed with her husband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the seventeen provinces; after which they settled at the Hague, till the revolution, when they returned to England, and their country seat at Spetchly.

After his death, she perfected the hospital at Worcester, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large sum of money.

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During the widowhood, she made the first draught of that pious treatise, which she afterwards finished and published, entitled, *A Method of Devotion : or, Rules for Holy and Devout Living ; with Prayers on Several Occasions, and Advices, and Devotions for the Holy Sacrament : in octavo.* This piece has been so well received as to run through three editions.

After continuing a widow near seven years, she was married to the bishop of Salisbury; who was so sensible of her worth and goodness, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her absolute mistress of her own fortune.

In 1707, she took a journey to Spaw for her health, and, after her return, seemed to be much recovered ; but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the frost in January, she was taken with a pleuretic fever, of which she died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former husband, according to a promise she had made him, as appears by a clause in her will.——She was a lady, in every respect, of most exemplary life and conversation.

To give the reader an idea of the bishop's ability and diligence in educating the duke of Gloucester, we must refer him to his own words.

“ I took to my own province, the reading and explaining the scriptures to him ; the  
instructing

instructing him in the principles of religion and the rules of virtue ; and the giving him a view of history, geography, politics, and government. I resolved also to look very exactly to all the masters that were appointed to teach him other things."

In another place, speaking of the duke of Gloucester's death, he says,

" I had been trusted with his education now for two years, and he made an amazing progress ; I had read over the Psalms, Proverbs, and Gospels, with him ; and had explained things, that fell in my way, very copiously. I went through geography so often with him, that he knew all the maps very particularly : I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the interests and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad in it : I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman histories, and of Plutarch's Lives. The last thing I explained to him was the Gothic constitution ; and the beneficiary and feudal laws : I talked of these things, at different times, near three hours a day."

We shall just touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a bishop, which are described at large by the author of his life.

As he had always looked upon confirmation as the likeliest means of reviving a spirit of Christianity, if men could be brought to entertain just notions concerning it, he wrote a  
short

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short Directory, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon such occasions. This he printed, and sent copies of it, some months before hand, to the minister of every parish where he intended to confirm.

Every summer, he made a tour, for six weeks, or two months, through some district of his bishopric, daily preaching and confirming from church to church; so as, in the compass of three years, besides his triennial visitation, to go through all the principal livings of his diocese. In these circuits, he entertained all the clergy that attended upon him at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of divinity.

During his residence at Salisbury, he constantly preached a Thursday's lecture, founded at St. Thomas's church. He likewise preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in some church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained some portion of scripture. Every week, during the season of Lent, he catechised the youth of the two great schools in the cathedral church, and instructed them in order for confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuses of the bishop's constitutional court. No part of the episcopal office was more strictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himself, as to the proofs of the Christian religion,

gion, the authority of the scriptures, and the nature of the gospel-covenant; and, a day or two before ordination, he submitted all those, whom he had accepted, to the examination of the dean and prebendaries.

As the qualification of clergymen for the pastoral care was always uppermost in his thoughts, he instituted at Salisbury a little nursery of students in divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a salary of thirty pounds a year. Once every day, he examined their progress in learning, and gave them a letter on some speculative point of divinity, or some part of the pastoral function: but this foundation being exclaimed at, as a designed affront upon the method of education at the universities, he was prevailed upon, after some years, to lay it wholly aside.

He was a warm and constant enemy to pluralities, where non-residence was the consequence of them, and in some cases hazarded a suspension rather than give institution. In the point of residence, he was so strict, that he immediately dismissed his own chaplains upon their preferment to a cure of souls.

He exerted the principle of toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a non-juring meeting-house at Salisbury, which he obtained the royal permission to connive at; and this spirit of moderation brought over several dissenting families of his diocese to the communion of the church.

In

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In 1699, he published his Exposition on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. In 1704, he had the satisfaction to see his project for augmenting poor livings carried into execution.

The last five years of his life he grew more abstracted from the world than he had been in the former part of it. He lived to see a succession take place, and that family established, in whose interests he had been so zealous; and died on the seventeenth of March, 1714-15, in the seventy-second year of his age; and was interred in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

After his death, his History of his own Times, with his Life annexed, was published by his son Thomas Burnet, esq. agreeable to the intention of his father; for the bishop, by his last will and testament, had ordered, that this History should not be printed till six years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular.

The first volume was printed at London in 1724, and the second in 1734, in folio. To the first volume is prefixed an advertisement, acquainting the reader, That the editors intended, for the satisfaction of the public, to deposit the copy, from which his history is printed (corrected, and interlined, in many places, with the author's own hand) in some public library, as soon as the second volume should be published.

The



The first part of his History was written some time before the year 1705; but how long is uncertain; only it appears it was then finished, because, in the beginning of the reign of king William and queen Mary, the author dates the Continuation of it on the first of May, 1705.

What led him at first to look into the secret conduct of public affairs, as he himself tells us, was the manner of his education; which being solely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendship with all parties, and took a pleasure in relating to him the series of public transactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of these matters, than is usual at that age. Besides which, he himself fell into great acquaintance and friendships with several persons, who either were or had been ministers of state; from whom, when the secret of affairs was over, he studied to know as many particulars as he could from them. He saw likewise a great deal more among the papers of the duke of Hamilton than was properly a part of their Memoirs, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own share in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true secret of counsels and designs.

"This," our author goes on, "made me, twenty years ago, write down a relation of all that

that I had known to that time. Where I was in the dark, I passed over all, and only opened those transactions that I had particular occasion to know. My chief design in writing was, to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving public transactions to Gazettes, and the public historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both myself and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and of all sides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I myself understood it; concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and representing things in their natural colours, without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests; for I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth upon all occasions, as fully and freely, as, upon my best enquiry, I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the same uncertainty to the world."

Our author then apologizes for the severity with which he has treated those of his own profession, his dwelling so long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worst, both of men and parties. Lastly, at to the style of the History, he tells us, he purposely avoided all laboured periods and artificial strains; and, that he writ it in as clear and plain a style as was possible, choosing rather a copious enlargement, than a  
dark

dark conciseness. He concludes the preface with a solemn dedication of his work to God.

There are two French translations of the first volume of this History; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous translator. The first was printed at the Hague in three volumes 12mo. 1725; the other, with cuts, at the same place, in the same year, in two volumes 4to. This last version was reprinted at Trevoux in four volumes 12mo.

Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time has been severely attacked by several writers; particularly, first, by John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece in 8vo, entitled, A Specimen of some Free and Impartial Remarks on Public Affairs and Particular Persons, especially relating to Scotland; occasioned by Dr. Burnet's History of his own Times. A Vindication of our author against the writer was published in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of A Defence of Dr. Cockburn, against the Vindication of Bishop Burnet. A second antagonist was an anonymous writer, in a piece entitled, A Review of Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, particularly his Characters and secret Memoirs; with critical Remarks, shewing the Partiality, Inconsistency, and Defects of that political History, 8vo. Thirdly, in 1725, appeared a book, entitled, Bishop Burnet's late History charged with great Partiality and Misrepresentation, to make the present

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sent and future ages believe, that Arthur, earl of Essex, in 1683, murdered himself, &c. By Mr. Braddon, 8vo. Fourthly, the same year, Mr. Bevil Higgons published, in 8vo, Historical and Critical Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time. This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and sharpness of style. He tells us, in his preface, "It is very evident that revenge has absolutely guided him (the bishop) through this History, and so darkened his understanding, as sometimes to make him fall into the grossest absurdities." The second edition of this book, is of the year 1727, with Additional Remarks, and a Postscript, in Answer to the London Journal of the thirtieth of January and the sixth of February, 1725. Fifthly, the late lord Landsdowne attacked our author's History, in a Letter to the Author (Mr. Oldmixon) of the Reflections, Historical and Political, &c. to which the bishop's son, Thomas Burnet, esq. replied, in some Remarks upon that Letter, London, 1732, 4to.

Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, concludes with a warm and affectionate address, to all ranks and degrees of persons; the clergy, the commonalty, the gentry, the traders, the nobility, the houses of parliament, and our monarchs themselves; censuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them suitable advice, and earnestly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

As

As to his domestic life, his time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riser, seldom in bed later than five, or six, o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two first hours, and the last four, of the day. His first and last appearance to his family, was at morning and evening prayers, which he always read himself though his chaplains were present. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to instruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon some portion of scripture. He seldom spent less than six, often eight, hours a day in his study. He kept an open table, in which there was a plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain, and all his expences generous, but not profuse. He was a most affectionate husband to his wives; and his love to his children expressed itself, not so much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the best education.

After his sons had perfected themselves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he sent them to the university, and afterwards abroad, to finish their studies at Leyden.

In his friendships, he was warm, open-hearted, and constant; and, though his station raised him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindest good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful master to his servants, and obliging  
to

to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of small livings: he bestowed constant pensions on poor clergymen and their widows, on students for their education at the universities, and on industrious but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent sums towards the repairs or building of churches and parsonage houses, to all public collections, to the support of charity schools (one of which for fifty children at Salisbury was wholly maintained by him) and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, sect, or party; but want and merit in the object, were the only measures of his liberality. He looked upon himself, with regard to his episcopal revenue, as a meer trustee for the church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintainance of his station, and in acts of hospitality and in charity; and he had so faithfully ballanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his bishopric remained to his family than was barely sufficient to pay his debts.

Lord Halifax, speaking of the bishop, says, " Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean; he must either be railed at, or admired. He has a swiftness of imagination that no other comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without hav-

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ing too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him: as it is hard for a vessel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him, may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse: he may, in some things, require grains of allowance, which those only can deny him who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other mens fault, than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries, hath had no other effect, than the setting his good in so much a better light, since his anger never yet went farther to pity them. That heat which, in most other men, raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in  
want

want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes, in discerning the smaller faults of those that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors which arise out of his abundance; and, by a mistake into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor sowered by it: the soil is not forced; every thing grows and brings forth without pangs; which distinguishes as much what he does, from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies by setting an ill-natured example of living which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment; his contempt, not only of splendor, but of all unnecessary plenty; his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling; are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies, in the opinion of those divines, who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the frailty of mankind. No wonder then



then if they are angry, since it is in their own defence ; or that, from a principle of self-preservation, they should endeavour to suppress a man whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal, to them."

The copy from which this is printed, in the Bishop's Life, was taken from one given to the bishop, in the marquis of Halifax's own handwriting.



THE LIFE OF  
 GEORGE GRANVILLE.

**G**EORGE GRANVILLE, created, by queen Anne, baron Lansdowne, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon, was an eloquent speaker, an elegant writer, an admirable poet, and, in a word, one of the most accomplished noblemen this nation hath produced.

It is a misfortune that a person so able has not left us any memoirs of his own, who, with so much candour and spirit has rescued from calumny the characters of other great men. The materials for this article are, for this reason, in proportion to the worth of it, very scanty; and all that we are able to do, towards rendering justice to his memory, and gratifying, in some measure, the expectation of the reader, is to range them in the best manner we are able; and to borrow from his own excellent writings all the lights we can.

He was the son of the honourable Mr. Bernard Greenville, or Granville, who, in regard to the merit of his illustrious father Sir Bevil, had, by a special warrant from king Charles the second, the rank given him of an earl's younger son; and who added to the lustre of



*Lord Lansdowne*



## GEORGE GRANVILLE. 75

of his antient and noble family fresh splendour by his personal merit.

His son George, whose Life we are now writing, was born about the year 1667, and is said to have received a great part of his education in his infancy under the eye of Sir William Ellis, who was himself a man of letters and of very quick parts.

Mr. Granville quickly discovered the genius of his family ; and being with his elder brother entered of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, at a time when others have made very little progress in a grammar-school, he was, before he reached the age of twelve, distinguished, by addressing a very fine copy of verses, of his own composition, to her royal highness Maria Beatrix d'Este, duchess of York, who, in 1679, visited this university. He took his degree there of master of arts at thirteen, and left Cambridge soon after.

On the accession of king James II. he addressed three poems to that monarch in the first year of his reign, and in the eighteenth of his own age ; all of them very finely written, particularly the last, which was looked upon as incomparable. Panegyric, in prose and in verse, was in fashion in those days ; Lewis the Fourteenth had introduced and rewarded it in France ; and from thence, with the other modes of that court, it spread over all Europe, and very early into England, where Waller, Dryden, and Otway, distinguished themselves in this way ; and therefore it was the more excu-

cuseable for so young an author as Mr. Granville, prompted alike by inclination and ambition to tread in the same path. His obedient genius enabled him to gratify his passion, and to reach, even in his first heat, those who were so much practised to the race. He was from this time considered as a master of numbers; and we may truly say of him, what can scarce be said of any other, that before he was a man he was a poet.

There was, and there still is, a degree of complaisance that waits on the productions of young men of fashion: but Mr. Granville did not avail himself of this, his very first poems were among the number of his best; and he did not stand indebted for his reputation, to favour, faction, or common fame; but had it conferred upon him by the first and fairest judges of the times, than whom perhaps few ages have produced better.

If testimony were of any weight, in proving an author to be a genius. we should find no great difficulty to succeed in this particular; for, if the names of the immortal Dryden, who was his friend; the celebrated Joseph Addison, esq. who was his intimate acquaintance; the famous Henry St. John, afterwards lord-viscount Bolingbroke, who lived with him in the greatest intimacy; and the ingenious Mr. Bevil Higgons, who was his relation, would suffice, it is secure; more especially as they have all given it under their hands, and staked their own credit with posterity in support of his.

his. But, where a man's writings are extant, it is to them we ought to appeal; and this will justify our producing his third poem to king James, Mr. Waller's Compliment to him, and his own Reply.

They are all very short, and full to the point; but perhaps it may not be amiss to remark, that our author wrote in the dawn of that monarch's reign, and before it was overcast by any of those offensive acts in favour of popery, which gave occasion to its being transmitted in so very different a light to succeeding times.

## To the KING.

Heroes of old, by rapine and by spoil,  
In search of fame did all the world embroil;  
Thus to their god's each then ally'd his name,  
This sprung from Jove, and that from T'ian  
came:

With equal valour, and the same success,  
Dread king, might'st thou the universe oppress:

But Christian laws constrain thy martial pride,  
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide;  
By thy example kings are taught to sway,  
Heroes to fight, and saints may learn to pray.

From Gods descended, and of race divine,  
Nestor in council and Ulysses shine;  
But in a day of battle all would yield  
To the fierce master of the seven-fold shield;

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Their very deities were grac'd no more,  
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore.  
But all perfections meet in James alone,  
And Britain's king is all the gods in one.

To the Author, on his foregoing  
VERSES to the KING.

By Mr. EDMUND WALLER.

An early plant, which such a blossom bears,  
And shows a genius, so beyond his years,  
A judgment that could make so fair a choice,  
So high a subject to employ his voice;  
Still as it grows, how sweetly will he sing  
The growing greatness of our matchless king.

ANSWER. To Mr. WALLER.

When into Lybia the young Grecian came,  
'To talk with Hammon, and consult for fame,'  
When from the sacred tripod where he stood,  
'The priest inspir'd saluted him a god;  
Scarce such a joy that haughty victor knew,  
Thus own'd by Heaven, as I, thus prais'd by  
you.

Whoe'er their names can in thy numbers  
show,  
Have more than empire, and immortal grow;  
Ages



GEORGE GRANVILLE. 79

Ages to come shall scorn the powers of old,  
When in thy verse of greater gods they're told;  
Our beauteous queen, and royal James's name,  
For Jove and Juno shall be plac'd by Fame;  
Thy Charles for Neptune, shall the seas com-  
mand.

And Sacarissa shall for Venus stand:  
Greece shall no longer boast, nor haughty  
Rome,  
But think from Britain all the gods did come.

We cannot, however, conclude these remarks without confirming what has been said by the authority of a professed critic, who thought like a scholar and wrote like a gentleman. His work was addressed to the marquis of Granby, in 1709.

“ Walker,” says he, “ for the music of his numbers, the courtliness of his verse, and the easiness and happiness of his thoughts on a thousand subjects, deserves your lordship's consideration more, perhaps, than any other; because his manner and his subjects are more common to persons of quality, and the affairs of a court. Mr. Granville, my lord, hath rivalled him in his finest address, and is as happy as he ever was in raising modern compliments upon ancient story, and setting off the British valour, and the English beauty, with the old gods and goddesses.”

In the preface to a subsequent edition, he says, on the same subject, “ If I had seen my lord Lansdowne's poems in one view, I might

have formed a juster idea of the greatness of his genius, and the delicacy of his wit; for, when I wrote these sheets, they lay dispersed up and down in the Miscellanies; but some kind hand hath assembled the scattered stars, and added another lyre to the constellation."

The great esteem in which he stood at this court, and the many personal marks of favour he received from their majesties, added to the turn of his education, and the natural generosity of his temper, made Mr. Granville passionately loyal in that season of his life when few, and he the least of any, had learned to dissemble.

At the time of the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he was with great difficulty restrained from taking arms; and at the revolution he had a return of the same political fever; which, without doubt, the reader will be pleased to see.

This singular and zealous letter has been often printed, but perhaps the following quotation from the impartial memoirs of a very worthy gentleman, wrote in the country, and at the very time, precisely, when this letter was written, will render it better understood.

"At this time," says he, "lord Thomas Howard was lieutenant of the west-riding, a rigid papist, and now gone ambassador to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, two of which also were papists, and but two of the three were now in the country, while most of the gentry of Yorkshire

shire were come to the city, expecting to meet with writs for the choice of members.

“ I therefore pressed the high-theriff to give notice to some gentlemen, while I convened others for the next day, when Sir Henry Gooderick began a discourse, which I seconded, to shew how little we were able to serve the king with the militia, without another lord lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning a protestant; and at the same time we subscribed a representation of our case to his majesty. I was well aware how very ungrateful this would be to him; but, to obviate his displeasure, I gave him private intelligence of the intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuse the concern I had therein, assuring him it was now absolutely for his service.

“ In the midst of this, down comes a special messenger to purge the corporation, to put out the former lord-mayor and aldermen, and to appoint others, almost all papists; but the commission was so defective, and there were such mistakes in the execution of it, as frustrated the design.

“ The next day I prevailed with the lord-mayor to call a hall; upon which occasion, I spoke to them a full half hour, and so convinced them of the evil arts which had been put in practice against me, and the great injustice done me, that they all seemed to be converts in my favour: and, to add to what

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I said, I gave them up the keys, but made them own it as a courtesy, and promise to restore them to me again, whenever I desired it. And now lord Fairfax, a Roman-catholic, and lord lieutenant of the north-riding, being at York, observed to me, it could be for no good end that the lords Devonshire and Danby were come down to the country, though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters at Knaresborough.

“ They were both of them frequently engaged in conversation at Sir Henry Goode-  
rick’s; and the first of them came to York, where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and received the same from him: the other I waited on at Sir Henry’s, not suspecting that men of their high quality and great estate, could intend any thing prejudicial to the government, or dangerous to themselves; and indeed their outward behaviour was very decent and innocent.

• Two days afterwards I had an express from lord Preston, the new secretary of state, Sunderland, who was turned papist, and had been the author of great mischief since he had been near the king, being laid aside, to acquaint me, that his majesty had given a very kind reception to our representation on the part of the country; and, that, in compliance therewith, he had named the duke of Newcastle to be lord-lieutenant of all Yorkshire; and his  
grace

## GEORGE GRANVILLE. 3

grace coming to town soon after, appointed his deputies and militia officers, both horse and foot.

“ The king began now, though fatally too late, to be sensible of his error, in carrying matters to so enormous a length, at the instigation of popish counsels, and now restored several justices of the peace in most counties, as also the old charters all England over. He now quits his hold of the bishop of London, does justice to Magdalen college, and begins again to court the church of England.”

We may now proceed to the letter, which, from the perusal of this passage, may be understood in the most minute particulars ; and, perhaps, taken together, they will afford the justest picture of the state of the north of England at that great crisis ; a thing not to be met with in any of our histories. and yet very capable of instructing us in points of very great importance, and in particular shewing us how that great turn came to be so easily made ; for king James had really subverted his own government, before he was attacked from abroad, and, by a strange mutability of counsels, disabled his friends from acting when he was attacked.

These are the most curious, and most interesting parts of history ; and yet, not to be written with any tolerable degree of certainty, but from such memoirs, and such letters, as these, where affection filled the heart, and truth guided the pen.

Mar, near Doncaster, Oct. 6, 1688.

To the Honourable Mr. BERNARD GRANVILLE, at the Earl of Bathe's, St. James's.

S I R,

" Your having no prospect of obtaining a commission for me, can no way alter or cool my desire at this important juncture, to venture my life in some manner or other, for my king and country.

" I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying obscure and idle in a country retirement, when every man, who has the least sense of honour, should be preparing for the field.

" You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I submitted to your commands upon Monmouth's rebellion, when no importunity could prevail with you to permit me to leave the academy: I was too young to be hazarded; but, give me leave to say, it is glorious, at any age, to die for one's country; and, the sooner the more noble the sacrifice.

" I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe was not so old, when he was left among the slain at the battle of Newberry; nor you yourself, Sir, when you made your escape from your tutors, to join your brother at the defence of Scilly.

" The

GEORGE GRANVILLE. 85

“ The same cause is now come round about again ; the king has been misled : let those who have misled him, be answerable for it ; no body can deny but he is sacred in his own person, and it is every honest man’s duty to defend it.

“ You are pleased to say, it is yet doubtful if the Hollanders are rash enough to make such an attempt ; but, be that as it will, I beg leave to insist upon it, that I may be presented to his majesty, as one whose utmost ambition it is to devote his life to his service,\* and my country’s, after the example of all my ancestors.

“ The gentry assembled at York, to agree upon the choice of representatives for the county, have prepared an address, to assure his majesty, they are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him, upon this and all other occasions ; but, at the same time, they humbly beseech him, to give them such magistrates, as may be agreeable to the laws of the land, for at present there is no authority to which they can legally submit.

“ They have been beating for volunteers at York, and the towns adjacent, to supply the regiments at Hull, but no body will list.

“ By what I can learn, every body wishes well to the king, but they would be glad his ministers were hanged.

“ The winds continue so contrary, that no landing can be so soon as was apprehended ;  
there-

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therefore I may hope, with your leave and assistance, to be in readiness before any action can begin. I beseech you, Sir, most humbly, and most earnestly, to add this one act of indulgence more, to so many other testimonies which I have constantly received of your goodness: and be pleased to believe me always, with the utmost duty and submission,

“ Sir, ”

“ Your most dutiful son,

“ and most obedient servant,

“ GEO. GRANVILLE.”

After things were settled, Mr. Granville pursued his studies, and gratified his taste for poetry in the enjoyments of private life.

He was the younger son of a younger brother, and of course much restrained in point of fortune; and, as matters were then situated with his family, had no reason to expect any favours from the administration. However, the hereditary prudence of his family, though it supplied not all deficiencies, yet covered all defects from public appearance; and his exact behaviour, and correct oeconomy, prevented the world from discerning, that Providence, though indulgent in all other respects, had, to render



## GEORGE GRANVILLE. 87

render that indulgence more beneficial, denied him riches suitable to the rank in which his birth had placed him. This was the more remarkable, because, when he afterwards enjoyed a more affluent income, that commendable œconomy was no more discerned, which had been the ornament of his youth; whereas, in most men, it is either an infirmity attending old age, or, at least, a habit produced by experience.

Being thus excluded from that circle of pleasures in which young men are generally immersed, and, at the same time debarred those passages to fame, in which the martial disposition of his family would have inclined him to tread,, he struck out amusements of another kind, and, though by a different road, reached the temple of Honour sooner than most of his contemporaries.

His dramatic pieces were of very different kinds, and written in very different manners; but they were all well received, and owed that reception to their intrinsic merit, as much as to the general esteem and respect that all the polite world professed for their author. They are, to say the truth, pieces that have often passed the press, without any diminution of that praise which they received upon the stage.

We have three plays of his, of which it is necessary to speak separately, and very distinctly, because there are several circumstances that are fit to be known in relation to them, which yet are not mentioned in his works.

1. The

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1. The She Gallants, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal in Little-Lincoln's inn-fields, 1696.

In the advertisement originally prefixed to this play, it is said to be the Child of a Child; and it is urged, in the way of apology for it, That it was written at an age when some persons were but beginning to spell.

At first it met with applause; but a rumour being industriously propagated, that it was calculated to turn some great characters into ridicule, a formidable party was raised against it: notwithstanding which, it was several times played with success.

The author always asserted, that the allusions before-mentioned were downright aspersions; and, indeed, supposing the play to be wrote in 1682, or 1683, or even two or three years later, the author must have been a prophet, as well as a poet, to have aimed his satyr as it was supposed to have been directed. Besides, its original intention was private amusement, and it was an unforeseen accident which brought it upon the stage; so that, in this, as it often happens, the piece was guiltless; it was the inuendo that made the libel; and the apprehensions of false friends, which brought certain characters upon the carpet, for which the play and its author suffered, though, in reality, neither was to blame. Many years after, he corrected it, and gave it a new title, and then it was called, *Once a Lover, and always a Lover, a Comedy.*

In

## GEORGE GRANVILLE. 89

In the preface, he observes, This is a new building upon an old foundation; and, that, taking it under examination, so many years after it was written, he flatters himself to have made a correct comedy of it. To justify this pains, he says, that he found it regular, the scene constant to one place, the time not exceeding the bounds prescribed, and the action entire.

He proceeds to point out the principal alterations that have been made, and concludes with the following remark. "Whether this infant deserved a new coat, or whether, now he is provided with one, it may set him off better, is, with all deference, submitted. An author flatters himself very ridiculously, if he can suppose it in his power to argue and reason the world into judging as he himself perhaps may do of his own work."

In praise of this performance, we find it said, That it has a great deal more wit than the stage is generally used to; dialogue equalled by few; and more just satirical observations than most of our modern comedies.

These, together with the commendations before given by the author, may be all true; but at the same time, it is as true, there is scarce a single scene, in which there are not expressions found, unworthy of him, and of the British stage; and for which all the wit, humour, and vivacity, with which they are mingled, can never atone. Whatever is immodest is inexcusable: we can never presume, that he has  
correction

correction in his view, by whose writings the corruption of his audience is in any danger of being brought about; and, if the true end of the stage be, to expose and ridicule vice, it looks like defeating it, to introduce language and characters of the worst sort, in such a manner as to make the most pleasing impressions.

2. *Heroic Love*, a Tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal with great applause, 1696.

This was very justly esteemed a capital performance, and, as Mr. Gildon very truly says, it was an attempt to restore the antient manner of writing tragedy at the expence of the modern. In it, Mr. Granville observed the strictest rules of the antient drama: the action is single, the scene is never varied, and the time is the same with the representation. All extravagance, all unnecessary incidents, are cut off; nothing can be more correct, or more free from what is called fustian, than the diction of this piece. It is founded upon the *Iliad*, and wrote according to the laws of Aristotle: it has been very justly commended, and most certainly shews an accurate judgment very capable of curbing even the most exalted genius. It is, however, to speak the truth, as is our duty, rather free from faults, than abounding with beauties; and entertains one, at least, as much in the closet, as it could do on the theatre. But, notwithstanding this, we must allow it great merit, as it shewed what might be done, without having recourse to improbabilities or rant. It is in this light that  
it

it must be considered, in order to justify the high praises given the author; and, when considered in this light, it will effectually justify him; wrote as it is, with dignity and spirit, great beauty of sentiment, and without any of those improprieties which have been objected to the English tragedy; no distortion of history, no incredible fictions, no shedding of blood upon the stage; but all that decorum preserved, which the strict rules of criticism demand.

It was introduced with all possible advantages; the prologue was written by the right honourable Henry St. John, esq. the epilogue by Mr. Bevil Higgons; and both are very fine pieces: but what did him the greatest honour, were the numerous compliments bestowed upon his play after it appeared in print; and, as great politicians sometimes unite the most opposite interests, so our author drew the praises of parties, seldom heard in commendation of the same thing, the ladies and the critics. But what must have given him the highest pleasure, as it was the surest proof of his success, was the following incomparable poem of Mr. John Dryden, which alone is sufficient to fix his character with posterity, and to secure his reputation as a poet against all the attacks of ignorance or envy: a poem that does equal honour to him and to the author, and abounds with sound sense and conclusive argument, delivered with all the force of poetry, accompanied with all the harmony of numbers, and glowing  
with

with that disinterested friendship which great minds only feel, and which a great genius only could express.

To Mr. GRANVILLE.

On his excellent Tragedy called  
Heroic Love.

Auspicious poet, wert thou not my friend,  
How could I envy what I must commend?  
But since 'tis Nature's law, in love and wit,  
That youth should reign, and with'ring age  
submit,

With less regret those laurels I resign;  
Which dying on my brows, revive on thine.  
With better grace an antient chief may yield  
The long-contended honours of the field,  
Than venture all his fortune at a cast,  
And fight, like Hannibal, to lose at last.  
Young princes, obstinate to win the prize,  
Tho' yearly beaten, yearly yet they rise:  
Old monarchs, tho' successful, still in doubt,  
Catch at a peace; and wisely turn devout.  
Thine be the laurel then; thy blooming age  
Can best, if any can, support the stage;  
Which so declines, that shortly we may see  
Players and plays reduc'd to second infancy.  
Sharp to the world, but thoughtless of renown,  
'They plot not on the stage, but on the town,  
And;

GEORGE GRANVILLE. 93

And, in despair, their empty pit to fill,  
Set up some foreign monster in a bill :  
Thus they jog on ; still tricking, never thriving ;  
And murd'ring plays, which they miscall reviving.  
Our sense is nonsense, thro' their pipes convey'd ;  
Scarce can a poet know the play he made ;  
'Tis so disguis'd in death : nor thinks 'tis he  
That suffers in the mangled tragedy.  
Thus Itys first was kill'd, and after dress'd  
For his own fire, the chief invited guest.

I say not this of thy successful scenes ;  
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains :  
With length of time, much judgment, and more toil,  
Not ill they acted what they could not spoil ;  
'Their setting-sun \* still shoots a glimm'ring ray,  
Like antient Rome, majestic in decay :  
And better gleaning their worn soil can boast,  
Than the crab vintage of the neighb'ring coast †,  
This diff'rence yet the judging world will see,  
Thou copiest Homer, and they copy thee.

\* Mr. Betterton's company in Lincoln's-inn-fields.

† Drury-lane play-house.

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3. The Jew of Venice, altered from the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakespear, 1701.

The profits of this play were designed for Mr. Dryden, but, upon his death, given to his son. The prologue was spoken by the ghosts of Shakespear and Dryden, and was written by Mr. Bevil Higgons. It was well received then, and much esteemed since. The chief merit of it is, that much of the original author is retained, and the alterations chiefly consist in shortening the scenes, and dispatching the business of the play with more veracity.

To comply with the humour of the times the Masque of Peleus and Thetis was introduced, of which something will be said hereafter.

If the Jew of Venice be more fit for the stage, the Merchant of Venice will be most esteemed in the closet. The scene is Italy, and we see the grave and the comic manners of the Italians finely preserved. The sentiments are truly noble and nervously expressed; the morality is equally striking and pleasing; the characters strongly marked, and yet extremely natural; the whole piece abounding with sensible reflections, and those very capable of being applied in the common conduct of life. On the whole, we may affirm of this play, that such as understand it best will admire it most; and, that, though it may be rendered more fashionable, yet it can never be so altered



## GEORGE GRANVILLE. 95

as to be improved. This was our author's sense of the thing, as well as ours, and therefore it is not censure, but compliment, when we submit to it. 1

He was as true a judge of the powers of music as the harmony of numbers ; and amongst the small number of poets acquainted with the happy secret of combining both without injury to either. What he has written in prose would have done him honour upon the subject as a critic ; but what he has done in verse, does him still more honour, as it shewed he was able to execute, with spirit and vivacity, what his judgment taught him with the utmost correctness. These sound, in respect to the compositions, was truly a comment upon the sense ; and one might have expected that what he wrote in this style should have carried the opera higher in Britain than even in Italy ; but perhaps it has had a contrary effect. His theory has been always acknowledged perspicuous, noble, and just ; but, like other great masters, his practice, upon trial, has been found inimitable.

We have before hinted the difficulty of settling the chronology of our author's writings. He composed most of his poetical pieces when he was a perfect child ; he reviewed, heightened, and improved them, in the middle part of his life ; he revised, corrected, and gave them the last touches, when his judgment was most mature. His poetic compositions of this kind are but two.

1. Peleus

## 96 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

1. Peleus and Thetis, a Masque, originally introduced in the Jew of Venice.

The whole of this exquisite performance is set to music. The argument is, That Peleus, being in love with Thetis, by the assistance of Proteus, obtains her favour; but Jupiter being also in love with the same immortal beauty, takes her from him, and condemns Peleus to suffer endless pains on mount Caucasus. There he has an opportunity of consulting Prometheus, skilled in astrology; upon whose prophecy, that the son born of Thetis should prove greater than his father, Jupiter desists from his pretensions, and Peleus, with his consent, espouses Thetis. The reader will allow us to justify what has already been advanced, by a short quotation towards the end of the masque.

### Prometheus to Jupiter.

Son of Saturn, take advice,  
From one whom thy severe decree  
Has furnish'd leisure to grow wise:  
Thou rul'st the gods, but Fate rules thee.

### The Prophecy.

Whoe'er the immortal maid compressing,  
Shall taste joy, and reap the blessing;  
Thus th' unerring stars advise:  
From that auspicious night, an heir shall rise  
Paternal glories to efface,  
The most illustrious of his race,  
Tho' sprang from him who rules the skies.  
Jupiter.

Jupiter. [Apart.]

Shall then the son of Saturn be undone,  
Like Saturn, by an impious son ?  
Justly th' impartial fates conspire,  
Dooming that son to be the fire,  
Of such another son.  
Conscious of ills that I have done,  
My fears to prudence shall advise,  
And guilt, that made me great, shall make  
me wise.

The fatal blessing I resign,  
Peleus take the maid divine \*,  
Jove consenting, she is thine ;  
The fatal blessing I resign †.

2. The British Enchanters ; or, No Magic like Love : a Dramatic Poem, with scenes, machines, music, and decorations, &c.

Our author, in a short preface prefixed to this work, tells us, that, “ of all public spectacles, that which should be called an opera, is calculated to give the highest delight : there is hardly any art but what is required to furnish towards the entertainment ; and there is something or other to be provided, that may touch every sense and please every palate.”

\* Giving her to Pelcus,

† Joins their hands.

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He observes, that the French opera is perfect in the decorations, the dancing, and magnificence; the Italian excels in the music and voices, but the drama falls short in both. An English stomach, he says, requires something solid and substantial, and will never rise satisfied from a regale of sweetmeats. We have, says he, several poems under the name of Dramatic Operas, by the best hands; but the subjects, for the most part, have been improperly chosen: Mr. Addison's *Rosamond*, and Mr. Congreve's *Semele*, are rather masques than operas.

At the close of his preface, he gives the following account of his own performance, which may also be stiled the history of it.

“ The unities are religiously observed; the place is the same, varied only into different prospects, by the power of enchantment; all the incidents fall within the time of representation: the plot is one principal action, and of that kind which introduces variety of turns and changes, all tending to the same point; the ornaments and decorations are of a piece with it, so that one could not well subsist without the other: every act concludes with some unexpected revolution; and, in the end, vice is punished, virtue rewarded, and the moral is instructive. Rhyme, which I would by no means admit into the dialogue of graver tragedy, seems to me the most proper style for represen-

representations of this heroic romantic kind, and best adapted to accompany music. The solemn language of a haughty tyrant will, by no means, become a passionate lover; and tender sentiments require the softest colouring: the theme must govern the style, every thought, every character, every subject, of a different nature, must speak a different language. An humble lover's gentle address to his mistress, would rumble strangely in the Miltonic dialect; and the soft harmony of Mr. Waller's numbers, would ill become the mouths of Lucifer and Belzebub. The terrible and the tender, must be set to different notes of music. To conclude; this dramatic attempt, was the first essay of a very infant muse, rather as a task at such hours as were free from any other exercises, than any way meant for public entertainment: but Mr. Betterton having had a casual sight of it many years after it was written, begged it for the stage, where it found so favourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted run of at least forty days. The separation of the principal actors, which soon followed, and the introduction of the Italian opera, put a stop to its farther appearance. Had it been composed at a riper time of life, the faults might have been fewer: however, upon revising it now, at so great a distance of time, with a cooler judgment than the first conceptions of youth will allow, I cannot absolutely say, scripsisse pudet."

It remains that we give a specimen of his power in respect to numbers, which is the prerogative of our language, of the most extensive influence, and which, notwithstanding, is the least understood. For this reason, therefore, we will produce such an instance; and if, for the short time he is reading it, the reader will forget Mr. Dryden's Ode upon St. Cecilia's day, he will not be able to recollect a finer piece of lyric poetry in the British tongue.

### ODE to DISCORD.

When Love's away, then Discord reigns,  
 The furies he unchains,  
 Bids Æolus unbind  
 The northern wind  
 That fetter'd lays in caves;  
 And root up trees, and plow the plains;  
 Old Ocean frets and raves:  
 From their deep roots the rocks he tears,  
 Whole deluges lets fly,  
 That dash against the sky,  
 And seem to drown the stars.  
 Th' assaulted clouds return the shock,  
 Blue light'nings singe the waves,  
 And thunder rends the rock.

Then Jove usurps his father's crown,  
 Instructing mortals to aspire;  
 The father would destroy the son,  
 The son dethrones the fire:

The

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The Titans, to regain their right,  
Prepare to try a second fight;  
Briareus arms his hundred hands,  
And marches forth the bold gigantic bands.

Pelion, upon Ossa thrown,  
Steep Olympius they invade;  
Gods and giants tumble down,  
And Mars is foil'd by Encelade.

Horror, confusion, dreadful ire,  
Daggers, poison, sword, and fire,  
To execute the destin'd wrath conspire:  
The furies loose their snaky rods,  
And lash both men and gods.

The chorus repeat the last stanza.

He was not one of those fine easy writers that compose a poem in a morning, but remarkably careful and curious about every thing he wrote; so that his verses never appeared till they had undergone a severe examination; and, even after they had received the sanction of public applause, they were not safe from his castigation; he thought he had a right to trim and prune the products of his imagination as long and as often as he thought fit, and it is certain that he exercised this right thro' his whole life. Like Ovid and Tibullus, his muse was employed in transmitting the charms

of beauty, as far as they can be transmitted by those of poetry, to succeeding times. He began where Waller ended ; and, as he had conferred immortality on lady Dorothea Sidney, under the name of Sacharissa, so the countess of Newbourg, who was Granville's Mira, will live as long as the English language : but, as much as he excelled in the amorous, he excelled also in other kinds of poetry ; and had the genius and learning, as well as the spirit and turn, of Ovid, as appears clearly from one of the most beautiful pieces of poetical criticism that is any where extant.

This performance is his essay on the unnatural flights in poetry. The earl of Mulgrave, afterwards successively distinguished by the titles of Normandy and Buckinghamshire, had wrote an admirable piece, entitled, An Essay on Poetry ; the earl of Roscommon had likewise written with the same title upon translated verse.

Our author, to compleat the subject, wrote this third essay, to shew, that, notwithstanding all the notions of poetic liberty, whatever is absurd, extravagant, or unnatural, can never be either sublime or beautiful. He wrote likewise annotations to explain, to establish, and to confirm his rules, by examples. The following instances will give the reader an idea of his poem.

Thus



Thus poetry has ample space to soar,  
Nor needs forbidden regions to explore;  
Such vaunts as his who can with patience read,  
Who thus describes his heroes slain and dead.

“ \* Kill'd as he was, insensible of death,  
“ He still fights on, and scorns to yield his  
“ breath.”

The noisy culverin, o'ercharged, lets fly,  
And burst unaiming in the rent sky:  
Such frantic flights are like a madman's  
dream,  
And Nature suffers in the wide extreme.

The captive cannibal, weigh'd down with  
chains,  
Yet braves his foes, reviles, provokes, dis-  
dains;  
Of nature fierce, untameable, and proud,  
He grins defiance at the gaping crowd;  
And spent at last, and speechless as he lies,  
With looks still threat'ning, mocks their rage  
and dies:  
This is the utmost stretch that nature can,  
And all beyond is fulsome, false, and vain.

I needed not to have travelled so far for an  
extravagant sight, I remember one of British  
growth of the like nature,

\* Ariosto.

See those dead bodies hence convey'd with  
care,

Life may perhaps return—~~—~~with change of  
air.

But I chose rather to correct gently by foreign examples, hoping that such as are conscious of the like excesses, will take the hint, and secretly reprove themselves: it may be possible for some tempers to maintain rage and indignation to the last gasp: but the soul and body once parted, there must necessarily be a determination of action.

. Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi,

I cannot forbear quoting on this occasion, as an example for the present purpose, two noble lines of Jasper May's, in the Collection of the Oxford Verses, printed in the year 1643, upon the death of my grandfather, Sir Bevil Granville, slain in the heat of action, at the battle of Lansdowne. The poet, after having described the fight, the soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, and enraged at his death, thus concludes :

Thus he being slain, his action fought anew,  
And the dead conquer'd, whilst the living flew.

This is agreeable to truth, and within the compass of nature. it is thus only that the dead can act.

Beauty's

Beauty's the theme : some nymph divinely  
 fair  
 Excites the muse ; let truth be even there.  
 As painters flatter, so may poets too,  
 But to resemblance must be ever true.

" \* The day that she was born the Cypris  
 " queen  
 " Had like to have dy'd thro' envy and thro'  
 " spleen :  
 " The graces in a hurry left the skies,  
 " To have the honour to attend her eyes ;  
 " And Love, to lodge in her heart a place,  
 " Would needs take up a lodging in her  
 " face."

Tho' wrote by great Corneille, such lines as  
 these,  
 Such civil nonsense sure could never please ;  
 Waller, the best of all the spirit'd train,  
 To melt the fat in his the diving swain.

Le jour qu'elle quit Venas bien qu'im-  
 mortelle,  
 Pensa mourir de honte, en la voyant si belle,  
 Les graces a l'envi descendent des cieux  
 Pour avoir l'honneur d'accompagner ses yeux,\*  
 Et l'amour qui ne pût entre dans son courage,  
 Voulout obstinément loger sur son visage.

\* Corneille.

This is a lover's description of his mistress, by the great Corneille; civil to be sure, and polite as any thing can be. Let any body turn over Waller, and he will see how much more rationally and delicately the English author treats the article of Love, than the celebrated Frenchman.

I would not, however, be thought, by any derogatory quotation, to take from the merit of a writer, whose reputation is so universally and so justly established in all nations; but I said before, I rather choose, where any failings are to be found, to correct my own countrymen by foreign examples, than to provoke them by instances drawn from their own writings. *Humanum est errare.*

I cannot forbear one quotation more from another celebrated French author. It is an epigram upon a monument for Francis I. king of France, by way of question and answer; which in English is verbatim thus:

Under this marble, who lies buried here?  
Francis the Great, a king beyond compare,  
Why has so great a king so small a stone?  
Of that great king here's but the heart alone.  
Then of this conqueror here lies but part;  
No—here he lies all—for he was all heart.

The author was a Gascon, to whom I can properly oppose nobody so well as a Welshman; for which purpose I am farther furnished from the fore-mentioned collection of Oxford verses,  
with

with an epigram, by Martin Lluellin, upon the same subject, which I remember to have heard often repeated to me when I was a boy. Besides, from whence can we draw better examples, than from the very seat and nursery of the muses?

Thus slain thy valiant ancestor did lie,  
When his one bark a navy did defy;  
When now encompass'd round he victor stood,  
And bath'd his pinnace in his conqu'ring  
    blood,  
'Till all the purple current, dry'd and spent,  
He fell, and made the waves his monument.  
Where shall the next fam'd Granville's ashes  
    stand?  
Thy grandfire's fills the sea, and thine the land.

I cannot say the two last lines, in which consists the sting or point of the epigram, are strictly conformable to the rule herein set down; the word ashes, metaphorically, can signify nothing but fame, which is mere sound, and can fill no space either of land or sea: the Welshman, however, must be allowed to have outdone the Gascon. The fallacy of the French epigram appears at first sight: but the English strikes the fancy, suspends and dazzles the judgment, and may, perhaps, be allowed to pass under the shelter of those daring hyperboles, which, by presenting an obvious meaning, make their way, according to Seneca through incredible to true.

At the accession of queen Anne, he stood as fair in the general esteem as any man of his age, which was about five and twenty. His father, who was just dead, had made some provision for him; and his uncle, the earl of Bath, who did not survive him long, had also left Mr. Granville a small annuity; which, with the credit of his cousin, soon after created lord Granville of Potheridge, engaged him to come into parliament; and he was accordingly chosen for Fowey, in the first parliament of the queen, with John Hicks, esq.

Soon after, he published, in conjunction with several other patriots, one of the orations of Demosthenes, in order to excite a proper spirit in the nation against France; for, as an eminent writer observes, the Tories were at this time looked upon as sincerely inclined to vigorous measures. This new specimen of literature gained him many friends, at the same time that it added highly to his reputation, and is still in very great esteem.

As few countries were ever blessed with more great men at one season than this island at that time, we may observe, that, in no period that can be assigned, there ever appeared a truer or a warmer spirit of liberty; it was to keep up this spirit, that some of our ablest patriots thought it might be expedient to translate some of the best orations of Demosthenes, as containing the most persuasive arguments to animate the subjects of a free state, to exert their utmost strength in opposing the pernicious designs

signs of an ambitious and over-bearing neighbour; they thought it very fortunate, that, as without any manifest absurdity they might compare their own government to that of Athens; there was, at the same time, so great and so apparent a likeness between the characters of Philip of Macedon and Lewis the Fourteenth.

We know not whether it was choice or accident, that determined our author to the second Olynthian; but, whatever determined him, we may very boldly say, that he has translated it with equal fidelity and beauty, and, without either forcing the sense or straining the spirit, has rendered it as applicable to the subject, which was the common object of all the translators, as could be expected or even desired.

It has been said, that some of them made too free with the French translator, considering the author's eloquence was to be turned against a French prince; this certainly was not Mr. Granville's case; and, to shew how admirably he did his part, and at the same time to shew how the good sense, and sound reasoning of one age may square with the circumstances of another, though at a great distance, we will presume to give a few paragraphs, and appeal to the reader's own judgment, whether the advice given in them, may not be read with edification even in our age.

“What time so proper for action? what occasion so happy? and when can you hope for  
such

such another, if this be neglected? has not Philip, contrary to all treaties, insulted you in Thrace? Does he not, at this instant, straiten and invade your confederates, whom you have solemnly sworn to protect? is he not an implacable enemy? a faithless ally? the usurper of provinces to which he has no title or pretence? a stranger, a barbarian, a tyrant? and, indeed, what is he not? and yet, O ye immortal gods! when we shall have abandoned all things to this Philip; when, by the indifference of some, by the treachery of others, we have, as it were, added force and wings to his ambition, we shall yet make ourselves a greater scorn to our enemies, by upbraiding and loading each other with the reproach. Each party, though equally guilty by their divisions of the common calamity, will be imputing the miscarriage to his neighbour; and, though never so conscious, every one will be excusing himself, by laying the blame on another: as, after the loss of a battle, not a man that fled but accuses his companion, condemns his general, and, separately examined, no one takes shame to himself, each shifting the common disgrace from one to another; but yet it is certain, that every individual man who gave ground was equally necessary to the general defeat. The man who accuses his companion might have stood firm himself, had he pleased; and that which was a route, might have been a victory. Such is the pride and folly of parties overborne and swayed by personal prejudice;



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dice ; sacrificing the public to private resentment, and charging each other with miscarriages for which they are every one equally accountable. A manager for one side proposes, he is sure to be opposed by a manager for the other, not gently and amicably, but with heat, malice, and unbecoming reflection ; let a third, more moderate, arise, his opinion is not to be received, but as he is known to be engaged in a party. What good can be hoped from such a confusion of councils, directed only by prejudice or partiality, in defiance to sense and right reason ? If no advice that is given is to be received, but as it suits the humours of a party, or flatters the distempers of the times, it is not his fault who speaks honestly, but yours, who resolve to be deaf to all arguments that displease you. In debates for the public, we are not to seek what will please, but what will profit. If our wishes exceed what we have means to accomplish, we must contract our wishes, and confine them to what is within our power. Let the Gods have your prayers, to grant what is out of your reach, nothing is impossible to them : but we, who have only human means to act by, must be governed by circumstances, doing as well as we can, and trusting the rest to Providence."

The reader, upon the perusal, will certainly concur with us, in opinion, that he could not have chosen a fitter oration than this; one more applicable to the end proposed, or which al-

luded

luded more clearly to the state of the times ; so that the advice of Demosthenes, though he lived so many ages before, and at such a distance from us, is brought directly home ; and, from the similiarity of the conjunctures, his exhortations as properly adapted to the people of Britain then, as they were to the citizens of Athens when delivered.

His fortune received some improvement from an accident, in all other respects, big with irreparable loss, the death of his brother Sir Bevil Granville, looked upon, at that time, as the rising hopes of the family, who had given such early proofs of magnanimity, as had disarmed the rage of party, and, at the time of his decease, was universally acknowledged to be a most deserving officer, and a gentleman equally distinguished by amiable and estimable qualities.

Sir Bevil received the honours of knight-hood from king James II. in the camp at Hounslow, on the twenty-second of May, 1686, and was afterwards sent by his uncle, the earl of Bath, to the island of Jersey. He was lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Bath's regiment of the revolution, became afterwards colonel, and was at length promoted to the rank of major-general, behaving, upon all occasions, with equal steadiness and courage : in the battle of Steenkirk, particularly, he signalized himself more than any officer in the army.

This

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This battle was fought on Sunday the third of August, 1692; the army of the allies being commanded by king William, and that of the French by the marshal duke de Luxemburgh. The vanguard being oppressed by numbers, and count Solmes neglecting to support them, out of envy to the English, and distaste to the prince of Wirtemburgh, who commanded; and having at last sent horse instead of foot, expressly contrary to the royal orders, to their relief, his majesty, who foresaw the consequences of this ill conduct, exerted himself with the utmost vigour to repair it, though by this time the foot were a mile distant from the troops that were engaged, and had already suffered severely. However, the king made all possible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain with such foot as could come up.

The eagerness of the soldiers to follow and engage the enemy, was such, that they put themselves into some disorder, and took more time to form their battallions than could now be spared; so that, before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing being overpowered by thirty battallions of the enemy, who charged them continually one after another, and by a fresh body of dragoons brought up by boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confusion, and to leave the wood to the enemies possession.

The

## 114 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The English life-guards owed their preservation to the Danish foot-guards ; and a regiment of Lunenburgh, commanded by the baron of Pibreck, being in disorder upon the skirt of the wood, and the colonel himself dangerously wounded upon the place, Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the earl of Bar's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemies fire before he suffered his battalion to discharge. By this method he lodged himself in the narrow way near the wood, ordered his serjeants to carry off baron Pibreck, and maintained his post till he was commanded to leave it by the prince of Nassau.

The king, enraged at the disappointment of the vanguard, for want of timely relief, expressed his concern by often repeating these words, " Oh, my poor English, how they are abandoned !" nor would he admit count Solmes to his royal presence for many months after. But considering that the attack was not to be renewed without endangering the loss of the army, Luxemburgh being considerably reinforced by boufflers, and besides the night drawing on, his majesty commanded a retreat ; which was performed with admirable order, and without any great disturbance from the enemy, who never durst engage the English in the rear.

After the death of king William, in the year 1703, we find Sir Bevil Granville advanced

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vanced to be governor of Barbadoes, with a fixed salary of two thousand pounds a year. He was extremely welcome to the inhabitants at his first arrival, though he had not been long there before disputes arose which were gradually carried to a very great height, and, in conjunction with the warmth of the climate, had such an operation on his health, that he solicited his recall; and having obtained it, went on board an infected ship, and died in his passage home, on the fifteenth of September, 1706, in the flower of his age, unmarried, and universally lamented.

He served in parliament for the borough of Fowey, in the county of Cornwall, in the reign of king James; and under that of king William he was elected for that of Lestwithiel.

Mr. Granville bore this blow of fortune with great steadiness, and continued to dedicate his more serious hours to the service of his country, and to spend his moments of leisure with the muses, whom he courted with dignity and freedom, and not with that eagerness and fondness which render men pedants even to poetry.

He continued to serve in the parliaments called in the fourth and seventh years of the same queen's reign. In the ensuing parliament, chosen in the ninth year of the queen, he was elected for the borough of Helston, and also knight of the shire for the county of Cornwall, for which he served.

## 116 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

On the great change which happened in the autumn of 1710, he came into employment with his friends ; and on Michaelmas-day was declared secretary at war in the room of the late earl of Orford, then Robert Walpole, esq. He continued in this office for some time, and discharged it with great capacity.

Towards the close of the next year, he espoused lady Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, earl of Jersey, at that time the widow of Thomas Thyne, esq. from whom she enjoyed a considerable jointure, and by whom she was the mother of the late lord-viscount Weymouth.

On the thirty-first of December, 1711, he was, in consideration of the great and eminent services of his ancestors, and his own conspicuous merit, created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of lord Lansdowne, baron of Biddeford, in the county of Devon. Amongst the numerous creations at that time, there was none that gave greater satisfaction to one side, or less offence to the other, than this.

His lordship was apparently the next male in that noble family, in which two peerages had extinguished almost together. His personal merit was universally allowed ; and, with regard to his political sentiments, even those who thought him most mistaken, allowed him to be open, candid, and uniform ; expressing himself frankly upon all occasions, and shewing rather more warmth when in opposition to power, than

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than when his notions seemed to receive a favourable colour from fashion.

He stood always high in the favour of queen Anne, and with great reason, having, upon every occasion, testified the greatest zeal for her government, and the most profound respect for her person. We need not wonder, therefore, that, in the succeeding year, he was advanced to the post of comptroller of the household; and, on the eighteenth of August, sworn of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.

About that time twelvemonth, he became treasurer of the household, being succeeded in his former employment by Sir John Stonehouse. His lordship continued in this post during the remaining part of the queen's reign, and till his majesty, king George, was pleased, on the eleventh of October, 1714, to bestow it upon the earl of Cholmondeley.

His connections with the tory ministry, and the generosity of his disposition, which would not allow him to desert his friends in their distress, induced him to act with them in the beginning of that monarch's reign, when we find his name amongst those lords who protested against the bill for attainting Henry, lord-viscount Bolingbroke, and also against that for attainting James duke of Ormond, unless they surrendered by a day certain.

This steadiness of his lordship, in the support of his old friends, exposed him, as he  
must

must foresee it would, to many inconveniences ; for, upon the insurrections in Scotland and England, his lordship, though he was one of those who signed the proclamation of king George the First, upon the demise of her majesty queen Anne ; yet he was seized, as a suspected person, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1715, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he continued a long time.

At this unfortunate juncture, the well-intended officiousness of one of his servants, deprived the world of several excellent pieces that had fallen from his pen, by hastily committing to the flames some papers, of which he had observed his lord to be particularly careful. The loss was irreparable ; for his lordship, being tender of the productions of his youth, suffered no copies to be taken, 'till, by repeated corrections and improvements, he had reconciled them to his maturer judgment.

He was at length discharged from his tedious imprisonment, on the eighth of February, 1717, when all dangers were over. His lordship's being set at liberty, was highly satisfactory to the polite part of the world, as he was a distinguished patron of letters, and ever cherished in others those arts by which he had risen himself into universal esteem.

We find him, in 1719, as vigorous as ever in the house of lords, as appears by his speech against repealing the act to prevent occasional con-



conformity ; to which, in point of eloquence and spirit, there are very few harangues in our language that ought to be preferred.

About three years afterwards, his lordship, for the sake of his health, and for other reasons, thought fit to go abroad, and continued out of the kingdom for several years. It was during this space, that the first volume of the bishop of Sarum's History of his own Times was made public ; and, as that work made a very great noise, it is no wonder that his lordship perused it with attention ; and finding the characters of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath treated in a manner he thought they did not deserve, his lordship formed the design of doing them justice. This led him to look into the works of other historians, more especially those of the earl of Clarendon and Mr. Archdeacon Echard ; where finding his great-uncle Sir Richard Greenville more roughly treated, and his lordship having in his hands memoirs capable of setting his conduct in a fairer point of light, he resolved to follow the dictates of his duty and his inclination, by publishing his sentiments upon these heads and giving the world those lights which, in respect to them, they had long wanted.

At his return to England, in 1732, he made this work of his public, which was generally well received, as being written with great spirit, and wonderful beauty of expression ; and, being full of new discoveries, gave the lovers of personal history infinite satisfaction.—

How-

However, there wanted not some who thought themselves obliged in honour to oppose his lordship for very particular reasons. Amongst these Mr. Oldmixon was the first; and, tho' he was naturally of a very warm temper, embarked early in an opposite cause, and in some things had copied the authors his lordship condemned; yet, upon this occasion, he wrote with temper, made his lordship great concessions, and contented himself with defending only a few points, and those too not the most material in his lordship's performance.

The nearest relation of the deceased prelate looked upon himself as obliged to enter the lists also with his lordship; and, tho' more might have been urged in his excuse than for any other man in a case of this nature, if he had transgressed a little the rules of moderation, yet he really wants it not; his discourse is written with great coolness and calmness; and, while he says every thing that was in his power to say, and in the strongest terms possible, there is nothing that has so much as an air of vehemence, much less of ill manners. Nay, this writer forbore making any attack, till his lordship had answered his former antagonist, Mr. Oldmixon, in a letter dated from Old-Windsor, on the twenty-second of August, 1732; in which his lordship made a full return of candour and civility.

But, in the spring of the succeeding year, his lordship met with an opponent of a very different cast, in Dr. Colbatch, of Trinity-college  
lege

lege, Cambridge, who undertook to vindicate the memory of Mr. archdeacon Echard, in reference to his account of the marriage-treaty between Charles the Second and the infanta of Portugal; and this he has done, with great vigour and judgment, but at the same time with too much asperity. He was a person perfectly well acquainted with the subject, as having resided long in Portugal, and made the political affairs of that country his study. He was also a great master of argument, and thought himself at liberty to retort, where it was in his power, any observation; to censure every escape in expression; and to criticise his lordship as an author, without paying too much regard to his quality.

He had better fortune than either of his predecessors; he attacked the weakest part of his lordship's book; and, knowing the advantage he had, kept steadily to that single point, without wandering into other parts of the dispute.

His lordship prudently declined an answer, and contented himself with having afforded the republic of letters an opportunity of seeing several points of English history thoroughly sifted, and some new facts brought to light, which otherwise, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion.

We have already made such abundant use of his lordship's writings as clearly to prove whatever hath been asserted; but, for the satisfac-

tion of the reader, we will still subjoin some farther instances in this place.

In reference to the loyalty of the county of Cornwall, our author has produced a very remarkable letter from king Charles I. dated from his camp at Sudley-castle, on the tenth of September, 1643; of which he informs us, that there is a copy hung up in almost every church and chapel in the county.

In reference to Sir Bevil Greenvile, he has furnished us with much; in regard to Sir Richard Greenvile, with a great deal more; but still there are some things wanting that would give us much farther lights upon this subject,

Whitlocke has preserved a circumstance we meet with no where else; and, though but a rumour, and a false rumour too, is of some consequence to that gentleman's character. After the defeat of Essex, in Cornwall, it was reported, and believed, that the king had created that gentleman baron of Lestwithiel, an undeniable evidence, that common fame attributed to him the honour of that action.

We know not what is become of that relation which Sir Richard is said not only to have written, but to have printed and published, of his own conduct in the west: and we are also in the dark as to the death of his only son: all that his lordship knew, was, that he suffered for his father's principle: all we have been able to discover farther, is the time of his death; which was on the eighth of March, 1657-8,

Many

Many things relating to the restoration, we have already had occasion to mention, and several more belong to other articles, which therefore it would be improper to mention here. But there is a fact with regard to king Charles's queen Catharine, and her capacity of bearing children; which, through his lordship's means, has been stated in a pretty strong light; and which, for that reason, ought not to be overlooked.

In reference to this, his lordship says, "As to the incapacity of the infant bearing of children, it was never proved nor acknowledged: on the contrary, I have heard many ladies of equal quality to the duchess of Guadaloupa, some of them my near relations, who had the honour to attend upon her majesty's person, from her first coming into England to her dying day, affirm it to have been a false imputation; and that she was twice declared to be with child, is an undeniable proof of it."

This point is very fully explained by the following commentary of Dr. Colebatch.

"Whether matters of this sort be capable of proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the persons concerned. It was cause sufficient for the chancellor to take the alarm; and to warn his master of the danger, in case the thing was believed upon any probable presumption.

"Mr. Echard, I'm sure, hath dealt fairly with his reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one side and 't'other,

which he had for the most part from myself. He says very truly, that this supposed incapacity could not be imputed to the infant's age or country. I have seen a woman, near Lisbon, with a child of her own in her arms, who seemed to be near fifty years, and upon my taking notice of it, was told, that women there, if they marry sooner than those of other countries, which is commonly the case, sooner cease to bear children, and not otherwise. So that, if there was any truth in the report concerning the incapacity of this princess, it must, as the archdeacon observes, be upon account of some peculiar infirmities of body. But such a report there certainly was, and that before the marriage was completed.

“ Mr. John Pollexfen, a countryman of your lordship's, was a person so eminent in divers respects, that, in all likelihood, he was well known to your lordship; and, if so, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myself; namely, that, when the earl of Sandwich came with the fleet to conduct the queen to England, this matter was the common subject of discourse among our merchants at Lisbon; and that they (he, Mr. Pollexfen, being one of the number) remonstrated to his lordship, that the king was not like to have issue by his marriage. Possibly the report may have been confirmed; if not raised by the duchess of Guadaloupa, whose brother, the duke of Aveiro, went over from Portugal to Castile (and she with him,  
as

as I suppose) about the time when the marriages was agreed upon.

“ I am sure, Sir Robert told me, that, being at Madrid when the news came thither of our queen’s miscarriage, he waited on that lady to acquaint her with it ; which having done, he added, that there being now cause to expect a future pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with more happy success. But the duchess, who had been acquainted with the queen from her infancy, and in the nursery; (they are Sir Robert Southwell’s own words) shaking her head, gave him to understand, that she looked upon such hopes to be altogether groundless.

“ I have, as I told Mr. Echard, several times heard the same thing affirmed by one lady, who had the honour of being allied to your lordship’s family, and was the only protestant, of her rank and sex, that attended the queen at Lisbon ; I mean the lady Wycherley, who declared, that, to her knowledge, her majesty was in a child-bearing condition till after king Charles’s death.

“ I doubt not but that each of these ladies, had some particular reason on which to ground their opinion ; so that great deference is due both to the testimony of one and of the other. But I do not see how any difference in their quality should affect the credibility of their evidence on either side.”

In proof, however, of so much of the fact, as that this matter, which ought always to

have been kept secret, was very early the topic of discourse, and occasioned some very strange reports in Portugal, as well as in England.

We shall cite a passage of Sir Robert Southwell's letter, the rather because it will give us a hint of those by whom such stories were propagated, no doubt, with the pious intention of destroying gradually the English interest in every court in Europe. This letter of Sir Robert's is directed to lord Arlington, and is dated December 2, 1667.

" I would not omit to tell your lordship of one question which the queen asked me ; which was, Whether the queen of England was not divorced from his majesty ; which she said she had heard ; as also that the duchess was in like manner from his royal highness, and all the children declared illegitimate.

" Your lordship may imagine in what confusion I was, to hear her discourse on this subject ; and the industry I used to efface these impressions ; adding, for one conviction, the strictness of the commands I had now newly received, to solicit the residue of the portion. Upon which her majesty presently applied the discourse, pleading the poverty of the kingdom more sensibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But, as to the report aforesaid, it is hardly credible how hotly it was discoursed in this town about ten days ago, and even that her majesty was already embarked ; and it is now, in like manner, flown  
all



all over the kingdom : and, though I do believe that some wild letters have, from the Portuguese in England, been writ hither to this effect, yet I am sure the French have fomented it with all the vigour they could."

An eminent prelate having reported in his history, that the duchess of Portsmouth had told Mr. Henley, of Hampshire, that she believed king Charles the Second was poisoned, lord Lansdowne, who was at Paris, where the duchess of Portsmouth was living, procured the question to be asked her, Whether she had ever said so or not ; to which the duchess answered, That she did not remember her being so much as acquainted with Mr. Henley : which his lordship looked upon as a clear confutation ; whereas others thought it a mere evasion ; and, that, if there had been no truth in it, her grace would peremptorily have denied the fact, instead of reflecting upon the memory of the prelate, which she did in very coarse terms. However, in respect to the fact of the king's death, his lordship gives us his own sentiments in the following words.

" As to the poisoning part of the story, it was always my opinion, and not ill grounded either, that the king hastened his death by his own quackery. The last year of his life he had been much troubled with a sore leg, which he endeavoured to conceal, and trusted too much to his own drugs and medicines. On a sudden the running stopped, and it was then he was

seized with his apoplexy : a common case, fatal the moment those sort of sores dry up.

“ There being so natural a way of accounting for his death, to what purpose then all these forced speculations from strained circumstances? No one but the next heir could have any interest in it, and he never was so much as accused or suspected. The bishop himself generously acquits him.”

This was his lordship's sentiment, and carries in it great probability : yet his grace of Buckingham, an older man, and who had better opportunities of knowing, seems to think otherwise. His words are these :

“ I would not say any thing on so sad a subject, if I did not think silence itself would, in such a case, signify too much ; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am obliged to observe, That the most knowing, and most discerning, of all his physicians, did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.”

His grace likewise does the same justice to his successor. The physician he mentions was Dr. Short, a papist ; and the expression he made use of, was, That the king had not fair play for his life.

A very honourable and judicious writer has explained this in another sense than that in which it has been commonly taken.

“ It so fell out, that the access of the king's distemper was such, as no poison or medicament in the world could produce or counterfeit; that is, an apoplectic, or epileptic, fit, choose you whether; for in one of those the king was certainly at first taken. He cried out, and then falling back in his chair lay as one dead.

“ The physician in waiting immediately blooded him, and the following regimen was as in apoplectic cases, his majesty's being presumed to be that, to get him to wake and then to keep him from sleeping.

“ One Dr. Stokeham, an eminent physician in Covent-garden; declared to me, That the physician that blooded the king utterly mistook his case; for his fit was not an apoplexy, but epileptic; and then all they did was, ex diametro, wrong: for in that case bleeding is little less than mortal; and the way is, to let them dose out the fit without disturbance, and they will come to themselves and be well; but the other course will sooner make them mad, than recover them.”

Hence he infers, that the natural construction of Dr. Short's words was, that the methods used did more hurt than good; and, if he had been alone, and nothing at all done to him, nature had had it's course, which the doctor might probably mean by fair play.

We will venture to add, that these are the best accounts that are to be had of this matter;

and taking them together, we may be pretty certain of the truth. It was not the first, or the second, fit of the kind, the king had had, and recovered from by being let alone; but the circumstance of drying up his leg might probably make it more violent, which the accident of his being improperly treated rendered mortal.

The reader will excuse this short digression, to which we were induced, that we might the better explain the great use of such historical memoirs as those are which lord Lansdowne has published.

His lordship soon after took an opportunity of revising all his works, in order to a new edition; which might be worthy of them and of his lordship:—A circumstance that does him great honour, and which has contributed not a little to preserve that deference and respect to his memory which his many great talents and amiable qualities always secured, while living, to his person. He chose to encrease the value of his writings, by examining and correcting, rather than by multiplying, them; he was his own critic, and performed that office with the steadiness of a judge, and without being at all biassed by the natural tenderness of an author for his own productions. He chose to be known to posterity in his literary character, and very justly; having distinguished himself in so many different kinds of writing, both in prose and verse.

His

His lordship had the misfortune to survive his younger as well as his elder brother; and, perhaps, there is nothing more affecting in his lordship's character, than that veneration he had for some, and that tenderness which he had for all, his family. Of the former, the reader has already seen many instances, and some of the latter: but there are two letters; one to his cousin, the last earl of Bath, in respect to his conduct in private life; the other to his nephew, Mr. Bevil Greenvile, on his entering into holy-orders; which, as it would be injuring his memory to omit, the reader here shall find them.

The first, addressed to the young earl of Bath, contains our author's sentiments of the conduct fit for a nobleman, distinguished by birth, blessed with a large fortune, and honoured with a singular mark of the royal favour, to pursue in his own country, upon a supposition, that, with these advantages, there can be but one thing left to make him truly popular, not by meanly courting vulgar applause, but by consulting the true interest of his country, and thereby joining the people's love to the sovereign's choice.

There is a freedom, there is an honesty, in this letter, which renders it invaluable; and there are so many occasions continually occurring, to which it may be applied, and it will be perused here by so many to whom it as properly belongs, as to the noble person to whom

it was addressed, that it cannot fail of doing continual service.

TO WILLIAM HENRY, Earl of Bath, &c.  
at the camp in Flanders, Sep. 22, 1710.

“E V E R Y living creature, my dear lord, is entitled to offices of humanity: the distresses even of an enemy should reconcile us to him; if he thirst, give him drink; if he hungers, give him food; overcome evil with good.

“It is with this disposition I would have you enter into the exercise of that authority with which her majesty has honoured you over your countrymen. Let nobody inspire you with party prejudices and resentments. Let it be your business to reconcile differences and heal divisions, and to restore, if possible, harmony and good neighbourhood amongst them. If then there should be any left to wish you ill, make them ashamed and confounded with your goodness and moderation: not that I would ever advise you to sacrifice one hair of the head of an old friend to your family, to gain fifty new ones; but if you can encrease the number by courtesy and moderation, it may be worth the trial.

“Believe me, my dear lord, humanity and generosity make the best foundation to build a character upon: a man may have birth, and riches, and power, wit, learning, courage; but,

but, without generosity, it is impossible to be a great man. • Whatever the rich and powerful may think of themselves; whatever value they may set upon their abundance and grandeur, they will find themselves but the more hated and despised for the ill use they make of it. You should look upon yourselves but as stewards and trustees for the distressed: your over-abundance is but a deposit for the use and relief of the unhappy: you are answerable for all superfluities mis-spent. It is not to be supposed, that Providence would have made such distinctions among men, such unequal distributions, but that they might endear themselves one to another by mutual helps and obligations. Gratitude is the surest cement of love, friendship, and society.

“ There are, indeed, rules to be observed, and measures to be kept, in the distribution of favours: we know who have both the power and inclination to do, but, for want of judgment in the direction, they pass only for good-natured fools, instead of generous benefactors.

“ My lord —— will grudge a guinea to an honest gentleman in distress, but readily give twenty to a common strumpet; another shall refuse to lend fifty pounds to his best friend, without sufficient security, and the next moment set his whole fortune upon a card or die: a chance, for which he can have no security. My lord —— is to be seen every day at a toy-shop,

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shop, squandering away his money in trinkets and baubles, and at the same time leaves his brothers and sisters without common necessities.

“ Generosity does not consist in a contempt of money, in throwing it away at random, without judgment or distinction, though that indeed is better than locking it up, for multitudes have the benefit of it; but in a right disposition to proper objects, in proportion to the merit, the circumstances, the rank and condition of those who stand in need of our service.

“ Princes are more exposed than any others to the misplacing their favours: merit is ever modest, and keeps its distance. The forward and importunate stand always nearest in sight, and are not to be put out of countenance, nor thrust out of the way.—I remember to have heard a saying of the late king James, That he never knew a modest man make his way in a court. David Floyd, whom you know, being then in waiting, at his majesty’s elbow, reply’d, bluntly, “ Pray, Sir, whose fault’s that ? ”——The king stood corrected, and was silent.

“ If princes could see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, what a happy situation it would be for themselves and their subjects? To reward merit, to redress the injured, to relieve the oppressed, to raise the modest, to humble the insolent; what a  
godlike



godlike prerogative, if right use were made of it !

“ How happy are you, my dear lord, who are born with such generous inclinations, with judgment to direct them, and means to indulge them : of all men, most miserable is he who has the inclination without the means. To meet with a deserving object of compassion, without having the power to give relief, of all the circumstances in life, is the most disagreeable : to have the power, is the greatest pleasure.

“ Methinks I see you ready to cry out, Good cousin, why this discourse to me ? What occasion have I for these lectures ? None at all, my dear lord ; I am only making my court to you, by letting you see I think as you do.

“ But one word more, and I have done.

“ In trust, intimacy, and confidence, be as particular as you please ; in humanity, charity, and benevolence, universal.”

To my Nephew Mr. BEVIL GREENVILE,  
upon his entering into Holy Orders.

“ WHEN I look upon the date of your last letter, I must own myself blameable for not having sooner returned you my thanks for it.

“ I approve very well of your resolution of dedicating yourself to the service of God : you could not choose a better master, provided you have so sufficiently searched your heart as to be persuaded you can serve him well ; in so doing, you may secure to yourself many blessings in this world, as well as a sure expectation in the next.

“ There is one thing which I perceive you have not yet thoroughly purged yourself from, which is flattery ; you have bestowed so much of that upon me in your letter, that I hope you have no more left, and that you meant it only to take your leave of such flights of fancy, which, however well meant, often put a man out of countenance than oblige him.

“ You are now become a searcher after truth ; I shall hereafter take it more kindly to be justly reprov'd by you, than to be undeservedly complimented.

“ I would not have you understand me as if I recommended to you a sour presbyterian severity ; that is yet more to be avoided. Advice.

vice, like physic, should be so sweetened and prepared, as to be made palatable, or nature will be apt to revolt against it. Be always sincere, but, at the same time, be always polite; be humble, without descending from your character; reprove and correct, without offending good manners; to be a cynic, is as bad as to be a scycophant; you are not to lay aside the gentleman with your sword, nor to put on the gown to hide your birth and good breeding, but to adorn it.

“ Such has been the malice of the world from the beginning, that pride, avarice, and ambition, have been charged upon the priesthood in all ages, in all countries, and in all religions; what they are most obliged to combat against in their pulpit, they are most accused of encouraging in their conduct. It behoves you, therefore, to be more upon your guard in this than in any other profession.— Let your example confirm your doctrine, and let no man have it in his power to reproach you with practising contrary to what you preach.

“ You had an uncle, Dr. Dennis Granville, dean of Durham, whose memory I shall ever revere; make him your example. Sang-tity sat so easy, so unaffected, and so graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holiness. He was as chearful, as familiar, and condescending, in his conversation, as he was strict, regular, and exemplary, in his

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his piety; as well-bred and accomplished as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apostle. He was, indeed, in every thing apostolical; for he abandoned all to follow his Lord and Master.

“ May you resemble him! May he revive in you! May his spirit descend upon you, as Elijah’s upon Elisha! and, May the great God of Heaven, in guiding, directing and strengthening your pious resolutions, pour down his best and choicest blessings upon you.— You shall ever find me,

Dear Nephew,

Your most affectionate uncle,

and sincere friend, &c.

LANSDOWNE.”

Besides the reverend Mr. Bevil Granville, to whom this letter is addressed, colonel Bernard Granville, his lordship’s younger brother, who was also lieutenant-governor of Hull, had by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Martin Westcomb, consul at Cadiz, Bernard, his son and heir; and two daughters, Mary and Anne.

The gentleness of his lordship’s nature, in listening to every application that was made to him

him in every station of life; his willingness to oblige to the utmost of his power; and his condescension on some occasions, which added lustre to his good nature; might be supported by various instances, if either necessity required, or the bounds of this article would permit.

His candour in judging of the works of others, was the more extraordinary, considering the care he took of his own: but his generosity in supporting, encouraging, and recommending, men of genius, are qualities that must not be slightly passed over. His friendship to Betterton and Dryden was always constant, and his expressions of it governed by their distresses; for to them he gave the profits of his plays, which had never appeared upon the stage if their necessities had not required them. His affection and respect for Wycherly, expressed in a letter, as is supposed, to lord viscount Bolingbroke, shew his true sense of merit in the strongest and most agreeable light. His zeal in bringing the last great poet this country has produced with that credit on the public theatre, which is so necessary to give spirit and courage to a rising genius, ought ever to be remembered with due praise. •

The length of this letter prevents our transcribing it; but the latter part of it, which respects Mr Pope, and which shews that this noble person was among the number of his first patrons, and who, together with Mr. Wycherley,

cherley, introduced him to this other Mæcenas, runs in the following terms :

“ He shall bring with him, if you will, a young poet, newly inspir’d in the neighbourhood of Cooper’s Hill, whom he and Walsh have taken under their wing ; his name is Pope ; he is not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and promises miracles : if he goes on as he has begun, in the pastoral way, as Virgil first tried his strength, we may hope to see English poetry vie with the Roman, and this swan of Windsor sing as sweetly as the Mantuan.”

All the world knows in what terms Mr. Pope addressed this great man in the opening of his Windsor Forest : and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat them ; but with a private letter that accompanied that public inscription, the world may not be so well acquainted ; and therefore, from its pertinence to our purpose, we must beg leave to bring it to their notice.

GEORGE GRANVILLE. 141

To my Lord LANSDOWNE.

Binfield, Jan. 16, 1712.

“ I thank you for having given my poem of Windsor Forest it's greatest ornament, that of bearing your name in the front of it. 'Tis one thing, when a person of true merit permits us to have the honour of drawing him as like as we can ; and another, when we make a fine thing at random, and persuade the next vain creature we can find, that 'tis his own likeness ; which is the case every day of my fellow-scriblers. Yet, my lord, this honour has given me no more pride than your honour's have given you ; but it affords me a great deal of pleasure, which is much better than a great deal of pride ; and it indeed would give me some pain, if I was not sure of one advantage, that, whereas others are offended, if they had not more than justice done 'em : you would be displeased if you had so much ; therefore I may safely do you as much injury in my words, as you do yourself in your own thoughts. I am so vain as to think I have done you a favour in sparing your modesty, and you cannot but make me some return for prejudicing the truth to gratify you: this I beg may be the free correction of these verses,  
which

which will have few beauties, but what may be made by your blots. I am in the circumstance of an ordinary painter, drawing Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, by a few touches of his own, could make the piece very valuable: I might then hope, that, many years hence, the world might read in conjunction with your name, that of

“ Your Lordship’s, &c.”

We will close this article with a just stroke of censure on his lordship and his writings, by his grace the duke of Buckinghamshire and Normandy.

When Buckingham came, he scarce car’d to  
be seen;  
Till Phœbus desir’d his old friend to walk in;  
But a laureat peer had never been known,  
The commoners claim’d that place as their  
own.

Yet, if the kind God had been ne’er so inclin’d  
To break an old rule, yet he well knew his  
mind:  
Who of such preferment, would only make  
sport;  
And laugh’d at all suitors for places at court.

Not-



GEORGE GRANVILLE. 143

Notwithstanding this law, yet Lansdown was  
nam'd;  
But Apollo, with kindness, his indolence  
blam'd;  
And said he would chuse him, but that he  
should fear  
An employment of trouble he never could  
bear.

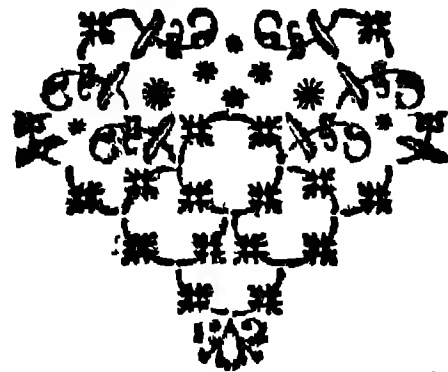
The last years of his lordship's life were spent in privacy and retirement. He had certainly talents enough to have raised him to the highest offices, and friends enough to have reconciled him to any party; but the mortifications he had met with in the middle part of his life, checked his ambition, and he had seen enough of the world to despise it. Yet he was not soured to a degree of becoming splenetic or cynical enough, either to refuse or to be ungrateful for royal favours. The late queen having honoured him with her protection, the last verses he wrote were to inscribe two copies of his poems, one of which was presented to her majesty, and the other to the princess-royal Anne.

His lordship deceased at his house near Hannover square, on the thirtieth of January, 1735, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

By his only wife, lady Mary Villiers, who died a few days before him, he had no issue male; so that in him the title of Lansdowne became extinct. He had, however, by her  
ladyship,

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ladyship, four daughters ; viz, Anne ; Mary, married on the fourteenth of March, 1729-30, to William Graham, of Platten, near Drogheda, in the kingdom of Ireland, who deceased in the month of November, in the same year with his lordship ; Grace, married on the twenty-ninth of March, 1740, to Thomas Foley, jun. esq. son and heir of Thomas Foley, esq. member of parliament for Hereford ; and Elizabeth.



T H E





*Lord Treasurer Harley*

## THE LIFE OF

## ROBERT HARLEY.

**R**OBERT HARLEY, afterwards earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, and lord-high-treasurer in the reign of queen Anne, was the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, and born in Bow-street, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, upon the fifth of December, 1661.

He was educated under the reverend Mr. Birch, at Shilton, near Burford, in Oxfordshire; which, though a private school, was remarkable for producing, at the same time, a lord high-treasurer, viz. lord Oxford; a lord-high-chancellor, viz. lord Harcourt; a lord-chief-justice of the common pleas, viz. lord Trevor; and ten members of the house of commons; who were all contemporaries as well at school as in parliament. Here he laid the foundation of that extensive knowledge and learning which rendered him afterwards so conspicuous in the world.

At the revolution, Sir Edward Harley, and ~~this~~ his eldest son, raised a troop of horse at their own expence; and, after the accession of king William and queen Mary, he was first

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chosen member of parliament for Tregony, in Cornwall, and afterwards served for the town of Radnor, till he was called up to the house of lords.

In 1690, he was chosen by ballot one of the nine members of the house of commons, commissioners for stating the public accounts; and also one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India companies.

In 1694, the house of commons ordered Mr. Hailey, on the nineteenth of November, to prepare and bring in a bill, For the Frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments; which he accordingly did upon the twenty-second, and it was received and agreed to by both houses, without any alteration or amendment.

On the eleventh of February, 1701-2, he was chosen speaker of the house of commons; and that parliament being dissolved the same year, by king William, and a new one called, he was again chosen speaker on the thirty-first of December following, as he was in the first parliament called by queen Anne.

On the seventeenth of April, 1704, he was sworn of her majesty's privy council; and, on the eighteenth of May following, sworn in council one of the principal secretaries of state, being also speaker of the house of commons at the same time.

In 1706, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the treaty of union with Scotland, which took effect; and resigned his place  
of

of principal secretary of state in February, 1707-8.

On the tenth of August, 1710, he was constituted one of the commissioners of the Treasury; also chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer: and, having three days after, been again sworn in the privy council, he was, on the eighth of March following, in great danger of his life; the marquis of Guiscard, a French papist, then under examination of a committee of the privy-council at Whitehall, stabbing him with a penknife, which he took up in the clerk's room, where he waited before he was examined. Guiscard was thereupon imprisoned, and died in Newgate on the seventeenth of the same month.

As the Examiner is very circumstantial in its account of this horrid attempt, for the farther satisfaction of our readers, we will insert the Thirty-second Number of that ingenious performance.

Non

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parii corporis  
scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ ! carne-  
ficina est ista, & credulitas. Hi medentur  
Reipublicæ qui exsecant pestem aliquam,  
tanquam Itrumani Civitatis.

**I** AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature : a great minister, in high confidence with the queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie ; sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of state, is stabbed at the very board in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French papist, then under examination for high-treason. The assassin redoubles his blow, to make sure work ; and, concluding the chancellor was dispatched, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal secretary of state : and that whole noble assembly are forced to rise, and draw their swords in their defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact hath some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate, comes nearest to the case ; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who



who were likewise the actors in it : and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the Third, of France, was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His successor met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in such a confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our country, we have, I think, but one instance of this sort which hath made any noise ; I mean that of Felton, about four-score years ago : but he took the opportunity to stab the duke of Buckingham in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen or heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that act of Felton will admit of some extenuation from the motives he is said to have had : but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister ; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals ; and, that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce.

yet, at the same time, it must be avowed, that the French have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men ; such as, the admiral de Coligny : the dukes of Guise, father and son : and the two kings I have last mentioned.

I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing and dancing, and prating ; to vanity and impertinence ; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures ; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial ; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious ; have been capable of committing such solid villanies ; more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian : unless it be, that, in a nation so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations ; when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in rage or despair.

D'Avila observes, that Jacques Clement was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with ; but, at last, giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king.

But in the marquis de Guiscard there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for  
such

such an attempt : he had committed several enormities in France ; was extremely prodigal and vicious ; of a dark complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an Ill Look. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities : so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised, at first step, from a profligate popish priest to a lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment of horse, was forced at last to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it ; they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the Faction. This would have been called a High-Church Principle ; the clergy would have been accused as promoters and abettors of the fact ; committees would have been sent, to promise the criminal his life ; provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession ; and a Black List would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But, the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Greg.

And here it may be worth observing how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in high power, and a French papist; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. Harley's life, although differing in their methods. The first proceeding by subornation, the other by violence; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause; his discovering designs against the government.

It was Mr. Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes; when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape; which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. Harley: but, when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal with a promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the secretary. But, to use Greg's own expression, His death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life that must be saved by prostituting his conscience.

The same gentleman lies now stabbed by his other enemy, a popish spy, whose treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her  
majesty's

majesty's ministers from such protestants, and from such papists!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed.

The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr. Secretary St. John, who happened to change seats with Mr. Harley, for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being asked what provoked him to stab the chancellor; he said, That, not being able to come at the secretary, as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr. St. John loved best.

And here, if Mr. Harley had still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile; I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy: and, I think, there are few greater instances of it to be found in story.

After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech: he rose up, and walked along the room while he was able, with the greatest tranquillity, during the midst of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely, whether the wound were mortal; because, in that case, he

said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow against a rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the surgeon was going to dress him ; he ordered it to be taken up, and, wiping it himself, gave it somebody to keep, saying, he now thought it properly belonged to him. He shewed no sort of resentment, or spoke one violent word against Guiscard ; but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company.—A state of mind, which, in such an exigency, nothing but innocence can give ; and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle, between the High-flying Whigs and the Friends of France ; I cannot but repeat the question, How come they to join in the destruction of the same man ? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both ? or, Have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies ? However it be, this great minister may now say with St. Paul, That he hath been in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by strangers.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country that such a savage monster as the marquis de Guiscard

Guiscard is none of her production: A wretch, perhaps, more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act hath been yet able to represent him to the world. For, there are good reasons to believe, from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute; I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on.

He hath of late been frequently seen going up the back-stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majesty's bed-chamber. He hath often and earnestly pressed for some time to have access to the queen, even since his correspondence with France, and he hath now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.

Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,  
Morte luat merita ——— .

An act of parliament was soon after passed, making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to attempt the life of a private counsellor in the execution of his office; and a clause was inserted, To justify and indemnify all persons, who, in assisting in defence of Mr. Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer, when he was stabbed by the sieur de Guiscard, and in securing him, did give any wound or bruise to the said sieur de Guiscard, whereby he received his death.

Both houses of parliament addressed the queen on this occasion, and expressed their great concern “ at the most barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the person of Robert Harley, esq. chancellor of your majesty’s exchequer, by the marquis of Guiscard, a French papist, at the time when he was under examination for treasonable practices, before a committee of your majesty’s council.

“ We cannot but be most deeply affected, to find such an instance of inveterate malice against one employed in your majesty’s council, and so near your royal person; and we have reason to believe, that his fidelity to your majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn on him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

“ We think it our duty, on this occasion, to assure your majesty, that we will effectually stand by and defend your majesty, and those who have the honour to be employed in your service,



ROBERT HARLEY. 157  
service, against all public and secret attempts  
of your enemies," &c.

To which the queen returned this answer :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I TAKE this address very kindly from you, on the occasion of that barbarous attempt on Mr. Harley, whose zeal and fidelity in my service must yet appear more eminently by that horrid endeavour to take away his life, for no other reason that appears, but his known opposition to popery and faction. Your warm concern for the safety of my person, and the defence of those employed in my service, is very grateful to me,” &c.

The wound he had received confined him for some weeks ; but the house being informed that it was almost healed, and that he would in a few days come abroad, they resolved to congratulate his escape and recovery ; and accordingly, upon his next attending the house, which was, on the twenty-sixth of April, the speaker addressed himself to him in a very respectful speech, to which Mr. Harley returned as respectful an answer.

In the year 1711, queen Anne, to reward his many eminent services, was pleased to advance

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vance him to the peerage of Great-Britain, by the stile and titles of baron Harley, of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford; earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer; with remainder, for want of male issue of his own body, to the heirs male of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the bath, his grand-father.

We will transcribe the preamble of the letters patent, bearing date the eleventh of May, to shew the reader, how prodigiously high Mr. Harley's credit stood with the people of England, as well as with the governing powers, at that time.

“ **W H A T E V E R** favour the equity of a prince can bestow on a gentleman descended from an illustrious and very ancient family, framed by nature for great things, improved by education in all manner of learning for greater, exercised by long experience in business, versed in very different employments of the commonwealth, with extraordinary reputation, and not without danger, such as our trusty and well-beloved counsellor Robert Harley justly deserved of us; he being the only man who, by a full house of commons, was chosen speaker by three successive parliaments; and, at the same time that he held the chair, was one of our principal secretaries of state: his capacity fitting him for the management of those two important offices; which, though they seemed to disagree in themselves,  
**were**

were easily reconciled by one who knew how, with equal weight and address, to temper and turn the minds of men; so wisely to defend the rights of the people, without derogating from the prerogative of the crown; and who was thoroughly acquainted how well monarchy could consist with liberty.

“ Having run through these two employments at the same time, after some breathing-while, he took care of our treasury, as chancellor of our exchequer; put a stop to the growing embezzlement of the public money, which was spreading far and wide, like a contagion; provided for the settling a new trade to the South-Seas; and having, with wonderful sagacity, very lately, and in a very good time, retrieved the languishing condition of our Exchequer, and thus restored public credit, merited the applause of the parliament, filled our citizens with joy, and us, for our interest is ever the same with that of our people, with no small satisfaction; for these reasons, we determine to confer on a gentleman, who has deserved so well of us, and of all our good subjects, those honours which were long since due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own inclination, and the general voice of all Great Britain.

“ Since therefore the two houses of parliament have declared, that the fidelity and affection he has expressed in our service, have exposed him to the hatred of wicked men, and the desperate rage of a villainous parricide; since they have congratulated his escape from  
such

such imminent dangers, and put us in mind, that he might not be preserved in vain ; we willingly comply with their desires, and grant him, who comes so honourably recommended by the hearty votes of our parliament, a place among our peers ; to whom, by the noble blood and long train of his ancestors, he is so nearly allied ; and that, with all felicity, he take his title from the city where learning flourishes in so great a degree, himself the ornament of learning, and patron of learned men.

“ Know,” &c.

In regard to the latter part of his lordship's character, it may be justly observed, that he was not only an encourager of literature, but the greatest collector in his time of all curious books in print and manuscript, especially those concerning the history of his own country ; which were preserved, and much augmented, by the late earl his son. He was also himself a man of taste and letters ; and under this character we find a proposal addressed to him by dean Swift, for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English tongue.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1711, the queen appointed the earl of Oxford lord-high-treasurer of Great Britain ; and, on the first of June, his lordship took the usual oath as such ; on which occasion, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper, made him the following speech :

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“ My Lord,

THE queen, who does every thing with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications. My lord, the title which you now bear could not have been so justly placed on any other of her majesty's subjects. Some of that antient blood which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres ; and you have shewed yourself as ready to sacrifice it for the safety of your prince, and the good of your country, and as fearless of danger, on the most trying occasions, as ever any of that brave and loyal house were. Nor is that title less suited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief seats of learning ; for even your enemies, my lord, if any such there still are, must own, that the love of letters, and the encouragement of those who excel in them, is one distinguishing part of your character.

“ My lord, the high station of lord-treasurer of Great-Britain, to which her majesty has called you, is the just reward of your eminent services. You have been the great instrument of restoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy pressure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languished ; and you are now intrusted with  
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the power of securing us from a relapse into the same ill state, out of which you have rescued us.

“ This great office, my lord, is every way worthy of you ; particularly on the account of those many difficulties with which the faithful discharge of it must be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like your’s to master them.”

“ The only difficulty which even you, my lord, may find insuperable, is, how to deserve better of the crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it.”

“ ‘ When the earl of Godolphin,’ says dean Swift, “ was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of some millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance ; or, whether there were policy, negligence, or despair, at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous ; for, by this means, navy bills grew to be forty per cent. discount, and upwards ; and almost every kind of stores bought by the Navy and Victualling- offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more : so that the public hath directly lost several millions upon one article, without any sort of necessity that

that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

“ In this oppressed and intangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office, and it into commission, of which the present treasurer (lord Oxford) was one.

“ This person had been chosen speaker, successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity.

“ The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first.

“ He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them, after he hath once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself; being taught by experience, that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurreth to other men after mature deliberation, offereth to him

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at his first thoughts; so that he decideth immediately what is best to be done; and is therefore very seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinketh it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident.

“ His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends,  
and



and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortrefs of his kingdom as a security; and this against all the opposition mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning, by those, whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just notion of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister, seemeth, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appeareth to be so to; which I number amongst his defects.

“ He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest men may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to answer, That he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent. However, so undistinguished  
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a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loseth so many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may, with some reason, complain.

“ His love of procrastination (wherein, doubtless, nature hath her share) may probably be encreased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained as well at lost by delay, which, at worst, is a fault on the securer side. Neither, probably, is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: his endeavours were wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons: which rendereth him less amiable than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation, in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own.

“ He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced, in any age, of a person who hath passed through so  
many

many employments in state, endowed with a greater share both of divine and human learning.

“ I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home, who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who, in the space of two years, hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe ; and hath deserved so well of his own prince and country.

“ In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already described, this minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs.

“ His first regulation was that of exchequer-bills, which, to the great discouragement of public credit, and scandal to the crown, were three per cent. less in value than the sums specified in them.

“ The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of England should be obliged, in consideration of forty five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate the bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army ; who, by unheard of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost ; to which the earl of Godolphin had

had given too much way,——\* possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption. \*

“ But the new treasurer’s chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed; and which former ministers had never the care or courage to inspect.

“ He resolved at once to go to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710; and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this: which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years, would clear the debt it was engaged for.

“ The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company, for trading to the South-Seas, and for encouragement of fishery.

\* Added in the Author’s own hand-writing.

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“ When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons \* (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted.—But a sudden stop was put to this affair, by that horrid attempt of Guiscard, which happened on the following day, and of which we have already given the reader an account.

“ The overtures made by this minister of paying so vast a debt, under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project ; and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it ; although the obtaining of this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spanish West-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at in this war.

“ However the bill passed ; and, as an immediate consequence, the navy-bills rose to about twenty per cent. nor ever fell within ten of their discount.

“ Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have ever since been erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry was eleven

weeks in filling ; whereas the first, <sup>by</sup> under the present, was filled in a very few hours, altho' it cost the government less ; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent the incumbrances of this kind from growing, for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments, where they seemed less to press, that all stores of the navy should be bought with ready-money ; by which cent. per cent. hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence ; as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the ninth of August, 1712 : and the payment of the interest was a less burthen upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

“ It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence, of former management : and what prudent, effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new.”

As nothing can give the reader a clearer view of the tory representations of the peace of Utrecht, which is thought to have had such an effect upon the political system of Europe, and  
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in which Harley is known to have been a chief mover, than the queen's speech to the parliament upon that occasion, we shall therefore insert it verbatim.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ THE making peace and war is undoubtedly the prerogative of the crown ; yet, such is the just confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this session, I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was begun ; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace before they should be concluded.

“ In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms that peace may be made.

“ I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair ; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

“ Nothing, however, hath hindered me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms ; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

“ The assuring of the protestant succession, as by law established in the house of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who hath pretended to disturb this settlement.

“ The apprehension that Spain and the West-Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such a union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty: former examples, and the late negotiations, sufficiently shew how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties only: I insisted on what was solid, and to that end have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

“ I can therefore now tell you, That France at last is brought to offer, That the duke of Anjou shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France: and, that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

“ At the same time, the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the present dauphin and his sons, to  
be



be in the duke of Berry and his sons, in the duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on to the rest of the house of Bourbon.

“ As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed on at the treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the house of Bourbon.

“ For confirming the renunciations and settlements before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it; and in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

“ France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired.

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Care is taken, however, to establish a method of settling this matter; and, in the mean time, provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages, as shall be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted in like manner to us.

“ The division of the island of St. Christopher, between us and the French, having been the cause of great inconveniency and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of the whole island; and France agreeth to this demand.

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North-America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consenteth to restore to us the whole bay and straits of Hudson, to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia, or Arcadie. The safety of our home-trade will be the better provided for by the demolishing of Dunkirk.

“ Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secured by the possession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, with the whole island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to Spain and the West-Indies may in general be settled, as it was in the time of the late king of Spain, Charles II. and a particular

particular provision made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any other nation, shall be, in like manner, granted to the subjects of Great-Britain.

“ But the part which we have borne in the prosecution of this war, intitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that the assiento, or contract, for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it hath been enjoyed by the French for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates; these must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisack, the fort of Kehl, and Landau, and to raze all the fortresses, both on the other side of the Rhine, and in that river.

“ As to the protestant interest in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the resettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of Westphalia.

“ The Spanish Low-Countries may go to his imperial majesty: the kingdom of Naples

and Sardinia; the duchy of Milan and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by treaty of peace to the emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remaineth no dispute concerning the cession of it by the duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

“ The interests of the states-general, with respect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandize; and the intire barrier, as demanded by the states in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed; and I make no doubt but that this barrier may be so settled, as to render that republic perfectly secure against any enterprize on the part of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the states.

“ The demands of Portugal depending upon the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable progress therein; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that king in his pretensions.

“ Those of the king of Prussia are such as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmost endeavours shall  
not

not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

“ The difference between the barrier demanded for the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconsiderable : but that prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still greater advantages.

“ France has consented, that the elector-palatine shall continue his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the house of Hanover, according to the article inserted, at that prince’s desire, in my demands.

“ And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I HAVE now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own subjects ; but likewise the proposals, for satisfying our allies.

“ The former are such as I have reason to expect, to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burthen which they have lain under, through the whole course of

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this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and especially those to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

“ The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

“ I can make no doubt, but you are fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of the negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your chearful concurrence with me.”

The event of this business is so very well known, that we hold it quite unnecessary to say any thing farther on the subject, this quotation having fully answered our purpose of demonstrating, what difficulties the minister was involved in, whose station and inclination obliged him to prosecute this plan in opposition to the different opinions of the many different sects which sprung up in an age so remarkable for its dissensions and cabals, as to leave the greatest reason to imagine his designs had been better executed, but for the interruptions he received.

Whig

Whig and Tory being two words which are often heard, but little understood, it seems but proper, in this place, to give the reader an account of what was meant by it in the days of those patriots, which is done clearly by Swift in his Examiner.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

THERE have been certain topics of reproach, liberally bestowed for some years past, by the Whigs and Tories, upon each other. We charge the former with a design of destroying the Established Church, and introducing Fanaticism and Free-thinking in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us, may be summed up in those formidable words, Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender.

Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt-acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy; their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood; their aversion against episcopacy; the public encouragement and patronage they give to Tindall, Toland, and other atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates, retained by the Dissent-

ers; excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the Test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences, as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our Monarchy, hath agreed by their open ridiculing the Martyrdom of king Charles the First, in their Calves-head Clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets: their denying the unnatural war raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts; such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney on Government, and many others; their endless loquacity of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however, those important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty service to the cause, although applied with little colour, either of reason or justice, I have been considering whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to Popery, which is the first of these, to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any intention to introduce it here;  
but



but the question is, Whether the principles and practices of us, or the Whigs, be most likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that, among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the catholic church, one of the chief was, to send Jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay-habits; who personating tradesmen and mechanics, should mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer reformation, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors, to preserve Peace at home; or, by our Divisions, make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the pope's permission, and a consecrated banner, to convert and enslave us at once.

If this hath been reckoned good politics, and it was the best the Jesuit-Schools could invent, I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work? They professed, on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of Speculative Opinions, as they termed the doctrines of the church, should be established more by law than another; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the Church Established. The grand maxim they laid down, was, That no man, for the sake of a few Notions and Ceremonies, under the  
names

names of Doctrine and Discipline, should be denied the liberty of serving his country; as it places w<sup>o</sup>uld go a begging, unless Brownists, Familists, Sweet Singers, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Muggletonians, would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would look to see half a dozen Sweet-Singers on the bench in their ermins, and two or three Quakers with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counter-part of the late king James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his own religion, under the pretext of an universal Liberty of Conscience; and that no difference in religion should make any, in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among Dissenters of most denominations: and what he did, was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true, king James admitted Papists among the rest, which the Whigs would not; but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much out-done that prince, and to have carried their Liberty of Conscience to a higher point; having granted it to all the classes of Free thinkers, which the nice conscience of a Popish Prince would not give him  
leave

leave to do ; and was therefore mightily overseen ; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from Atheism to the other extreme, Superstition. So that, upon the whole, whether the Whigs had any real design of bringing in Popery or no, it is very plain, that they took the most effectual step towards it ; and, if the Jesuits had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, That we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes ; and promote enslaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by instances, producing the particular opinions of certain Divines in king Charles the Second's reign ; a decree of Oxford-university, and some few writers since the Revolution. What they mean is the principle of Passive obedience and Non resistance, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include Arbitrary Power. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute, to make any concessions without the last necessity ; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of Passive-obedience to a height, which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can be neither enacted nor repealed, without the consent of the whole people ; I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is to the legislature,

ture : but such ~~as~~ fix it entirely in the prince's person. This hath, I believe, been done by a very few ; but when the Whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of Passive-obedience, it will at last appear, that I do not write for a party ; neither do I, upon any occasion, pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry, if those be a party, seem to me, in all their proceedings, to pursue the real interest of church and state : and, if I shall happen to differ from particular persons among them, in ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> opinion about government, I suppose they will not, upon that account, exclude me and my paper. However, as an answer, ~~to the~~ <sup>to the</sup> to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm, I am hired and directed what to write ; I must here inform them, that their censure is an effect of their principles : the present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens ; they have no dark designs to promote, by advancing Heterodox Opinions.

But, to return, suppose two or three private divines, under king Charles the Second, did a little over-strain the doctrine of Passive-obedience to princes ; some allowance might be given to the memory of that unnatural rebellion against his father, and the dismal consequences

quences of Resistance. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce Arbitrary Power.

I look upon the Whigs and Dissenters to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see what share each of them had in advancing Arbitrary Power. It is manifest, that the Fanatics made Cromwell the most absolute power in Christendom; the Rump abolished the House of Lords; the Army abolished the Rump; and by this Army of Saints he governed. The Dissenters took Liberty of Conscience and Employments from the late king James, as an acknowledgment of his suspending Power; which makes the king of England as absolute as the Turk. The Whigs, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace; which, in all ages, been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were, besides, discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church; and declared their opinion in all companies, against bishops sitting in the House of Peers; which was exactly copying after their predecessors of Forty-one. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the king absolute; but, whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy mentioned by Machiavel.

In



choice to invade the kingdom when the latter was most in credit: and he had reason to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further; What could be more consistent with the Whiggish notion of a Revolution-principle, than to bring in the Pretender? A Revolution-Principle, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to Revolutions: and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great Whig, that, "The more Revolutions the better;" which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

The Whig loves to turn round often; yet, after certain revolutions, he lies down to rest: but heads under the dominion of the Moon, are for Perpetual Changes, and perpetual Revolutions: besides, the Whigs owe all their wealth to Wars and Revolutions; like the girl at Bartholomew-fair, who gets a penny for turning round an hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the Whigs have a natural faculty of bringing in Pretenders, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many Pretenders to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of Pretenders in parliament; and  
wanted

wanted nothing to render the work compleat, except a Pretender at their head.

After this description of the powerful dissensions which then intruded on that harmony which is necessary to perfect the wisest designs, our readers will less wonder to see the endeavours of this patriot fall so short of expectation ; and give reason to conjecture, that the wisest of plans were frequently subverted by the discord of the time.

On the fifteenth of August, 1711, at a general assembly of the South-Sea company, he was chosen their governor, as he had been their founder and chief regulator. On the twenty-sixth of October, 1712, he was elected a knight companion of the most noble order of the garter. On the twenty-seventh of July, 1714, he resigned his office of high-treasurer of Great-Britain, at Kensington into the queen's hands ; he dying upon the first of August following. On the tenth of June, 1715, he was impeached by the house of commons of the crime of high-treason, and high crimes and misdemeanours ; and, on the sixteenth, was committed to the Tower by the house of lords, where he suffered confinement till the first of July, 1717 ; and then, after a public trial, was acquitted by his peers. He died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, on the twenty-first of May, 1724, after having been twice married.

Mr.



ROBERT HARLEY: 189

Mr. Pope has celebrated his memory in the following lines :

A soul supreme, in each hard instance try'd,  
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride ;  
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,  
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

